Kuei-feng Tsung-mi: The Convergence of Ch'an and the Teachings

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ABSTRACT

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This is a study of the ninth century Chinese Buddhist exegete and Ch'an master, Kuei-feng Tsung-mi (780-841), with an annotated translation of his *Ch'an-yüan chu-ch'üan-chi tu-hsü* (*Preface to the* Collected *Writings on the Source of Ch'an*). The introduction includes a brief survey of the all-at-once/step-by-step controversy in later Chinese thought, a controversy which Tsung-mi sought to dissolve; a biography of Tsung-mi based upon the Chinese sources and modern Japanese secondary works; a study of the Dharmatā lineage (of which Tsung-mi is recognized as the fifth patriarch); and a resume of the important facts about the transmission of the *Ch'an Preface*. The *Ch'an Preface* propounds the "convergence of Ch'an and the teachings" (*chiao-ch'an i-chih*). It shows how each of the important Ch'an lineages corresponds to one of the major streams of Mahāyana thought (Yogacara, Madhyamaka, and Tathagatagarbha). The translation has been done in a literal style with particular attention paid to doctrinal terminology and sources. In general, the annotations follow the style of Japanese Buddhological scholarship.

CONTENTS

PREFACE

Western research in the field of Buddhist thought in China has, to a significant degree, concentrated on the pre-T'ang period. Much work has been done on such figures as Chih Tun, Kumārajīva, Seng-chao, Hui-yüan, and Tao-sheng -- the outlines of the Buddho-Taoists and the early Madhyamikas are reasonably clear. However, when we come to the T'ang (618-905), which is so consistently referred to as the apogee of Buddhism in China (at least in terms of doctrinal development), Western scholarship has only begun. In this preliminary study of one of the most neglected figures in all of Chinese Buddhism, Kuei-feng Tsung-mi (780-841), I have tried to integrate the findings of Chinese, Japanese, and Western scholarship.

The kernel of the following is an annotated translation of the _Ch'an-yüan chu-ch'üan-chi tu-hsü_ (hereafter abbreviated as _Ch'an Preface_), a summary by Tsung-mi of the entire Buddhist exegetical tradition as seen from the Chinese sources, including his critiques of all of the important Ch'an lineages. In addition to his erudition in canonical literature, Tsung-mi possessed a detailed knowledge of the histories and teachings of the major Ch'an lineages. _P'an-chiao_ (critical classification of the teachings) had been carried on in China virtually since the introduction of

Buddhism. Tsung-mi's innovation was to fit the Ch'an lineages into a p'an-chiao -- in effect, creating a p'an-ch'an. Tsung-mi entered through the all-at-once gate of Ch'an, but, once inside, familiarized himself with the vast sea of canonical writings. The learning which he accumulated, however, never led him to disdain the simplicities of Ch'an. In him the learned exegete and the Ch'an virtuoso converge. We have heard a great deal about Ch'an's repudiation of any doctrinal apparatus. Tsung-mi, a Ch'an master living during the golden age of Ch'an, on the contrary, took it for granted that every Ch'an lineage (including his own) was authenticated by (in Ch'an parlance "sealed by") certain sutras and sastras.

The first chapter of the introduction is a brief survey of the all-at-once/step-by-step controversy in later Chinese thought, a controversy which Tsung-mi sought to dissolve. The introduction also includes a biography of Tsung-mi and a study of his relationship to the Dharmatā lineage. The final chapter is a resume of the important facts about his Ch'an Preface and a few remarks on my method of translation. With minor exceptions, I have not dealt with his influence on Sung Neo-Confucianism, a topic which would yield insight into both Buddhism and Neo-Confucianism.

By viewing the landscape of T'ang Dynasty Ch'an through Tsung-mi's eyes we are able to penetrate somewhat the mists of Ch'an legend which settled in during the early Sung. The view he provides for us is that of a cultivated

insider, an insider who, in his own words, "was endowed with a nature that loved to check up on things."

ABBREVIATIONS

USED IN INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

SPPY	*Ssu-pu pei-yao*.
SPTK	*Ssu-pu ts'ung-k'an*.
T	*Taishō shinshū dai-zōkyō*.
ZZ	*Dai Nihon zoku-zōkyō*.
Ch'an Preface	*Ch'an-yüan chu-ch'üan-chi tu-hsü*, by Kuei-feng Tsung-mi, T 48, pp. 397–413; and ZZ 2, 8, 4, pp. 304L–320L.
Ch'an Chart	*Ch'an-men shih-tzu ch'eng-hsi-t'u*, by Kuei-feng Tsung-mi, ZZ 2, 15, 5, pp. 433L–438L.

INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER ONE

THE ALL-AT-ONCE/STEP-BY-STEP CONTROVERSIES

An opposition between "all-at-once" (tun) and "step-by-step" (chien)[1] is a recurrent theme in Chinese thought from the time of the Northern and Southern Dynasties to the Southern Sung. The all-at-once/step-by-step "debate" emerged when the Chinese began to ponder and write about the meaning of the Prajñā-pāramitā texts which had been filtering into China (where they were being translated) from the second century onward. As Richard Robinson points out, "the chien-tun theme is connected with the absolute-relative problem which the Chinese inherited from Indian Śūnya-vāda."[2] Since the all-at-once/step-by-step theme is rooted in the two truths, we must begin with a summary of

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[1]See Paul Demiéville, "Le vocabulaire philosophique chinois, III: , subit' et ,gradual'," Annuaire du College de France (1949), pp. 177-82. This article is reprinted in a collection of Demiéville's pieces: Paul Demiéville, "Le vocabulaire philosophique chinois, III: , subit' et ,gradual'," in Choix d'études sinologiques (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1973), pp. 94-99.

[2]Richard Robinson, rev. of Buddhism in Chinese History, by Arthur F. Wright, Journal of the American Oriental Society, V. 79, No. 4 (October-December, 1959), p. 313.

this conception, the kernel of the Prajña-pāramitā corpus.

T. R. V. Murti says:

> The doctrine is already well-developed in the Aṣṭasāhasrikā and other Prajñāpāramitā texts besides Saddharma Puṇḍarīka, Samādhirāja and similar Mahāyāna Sūtras.
>
> Paramārtha Satya or Absolute Truth is the knowledge of the real as it is without any distortion (akṛtrimam vastu-rūpam). Categories of thought and points of view distort the real. They unconsciously coerce the mind to view things in a cramped, biased way and are thus inherently incapable of giving us the Truth. The paramārtha is the utter absence of the function of Reason (buddhi) which is therefore equated with saṁvṛti. The Absolute truth is beyond the scope of discursive thought, language and empirical activity; and conversely, the object of these is saṁvṛti-satya. . . . Saṁvṛti-satya is Truth so called; truth as conventionally believed in common parlance. . . . It is the truth that does not do any violence to what obtains in our every-day world, being in close conformity with linguistic conventions and ideas. . . . Paramārtha satya, as the unutterable ultimate experience wherein the real and the intellect cognizing it are non-different (advaya), does not admit of differentiation and degrees. . . . Saṁvṛti, on the other hand, admits of differences and degrees. . . . The four Holy Truths (catvāri āryasatyāni) have to be understood as included in these two: nirodhasatya as Nirvāṇa is paramārtha; and the other three, including the mārga, are within saṁvṛti. Even the spiritual discipline (mārga) undertaken for attaining Nirvāṇa, exalted and purifying as it is, is within saṁvṛti.[3]

The question of all-at-once versus step-by-step was one of the principal topics of controversy under the four

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[3]T. R. V. Murti, The Central Philosophy of Buddhism (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd, 1960), pp. 243-52.

southern dynasties.[4] The Pien-tsung lun[5] by the poet Hsieh Ling-yün (385-433) contains a representative specimen of what cultivated laymen and monks were saying. Hsieh propounds the views of the famous Tao-sheng (c. 360-434),[6] known in Hsieh's work as the "Tao master with a new theory." Tao-sheng and Hsieh advocated a path of step-by-step accumulation of learning (chi-hsüeh) followed by "all-at-once awakening" (tun-wu; i-wu). In the Pien-tsung lun a certain Seng-wei argues for "step-by-step awakening" (chien-wu):

> Seng-wei asks: According to the Dharma master with the new theory, the truth at its end is subtle and mysterious and does not contain steps. Suppose a student has penetrated to the end of existence. Spontaneously, he fits into non-existence. What need is there to speak of non-existence? If he depends on non-existence to exhaust existence, how could you not call this step-by-step awakening?
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> First answer: Bondage not yet being exhausted, non-existence cannot be obtained. He can only obtain non-existence when he has exhausted the corruption of bondage. Bondage exhausted, then non-existence. This is truly

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4 Leon Hurvitz, Chih-I, Mélanges chinois et bouddhiques, V. 12 (Bruxelles: l'Institut Belge des Hautes Études Chinoises, 1962) p. 75.

5 The Pien-tsung lun is now found in the Kuang hung-ming chi, T 52, pp. 224c-228a.

6 The Ch'u san-tsang chi-chi lists a Chien-wu lun ("On Step-by-step Awakening") by Hui-kuan, below which it mentions that "Sramana Chu Tao-sheng held all-at-once awakening [tun-wu] and the Pien-tsung of Hsieh K'ang-lo (Ling-yün) records it." (T 55, p. 84b)

"fitting in" [with non-existence]. To get rid of this bondage he must depend on the teaching. When one is within existence, it is learning [hsüeh] but not awakening [wu]. Awakening is outside of existence. One relies on learning in order to reach it. Steps are discussed merely to teach the ignorant. The theory of "all-at-once awakening" gets the idea.

Wei's second question: The [new] theory says that awakening is outside of existence and obtaining it cannot be step-by-step. Suppose one engages in learning in his striving after the truth. Would he daily advance his enlightenment [ming]? If not, enlightenment's not being daily advanced amounts to no talk [i.e., there could be no accumulating learning by talking]. If so, then how can daily advancing his enlightenment not be step-by-step awakening?

Second reply: Enlightenment is not gradually reached. Faith [hsin] arises from the teaching. Why do I say this? Since from the teaching there is faith, there is the achievement of daily advancement. Since enlightenment is not gradual, there is no partial entry into illumination [ju-chao]. However, tending toward the Tao, a good mind arises. Decreasing bondage gives rise to the subduing of defilement. This subduing [of defilement] seems identical with non-existence. The good [mind] seems to be the opposite of evil. What is accomplished here is not [identical with non-existence or the opposite of evil]; it is not the "mind from the outset without bondage." When one arrives at the "all-at-once awakening," the ten-thousand obstructions are all exhausted.[7]

Hsieh speaks in the existence/non-existence (yu/wu) dichotomy of the hsüan-hsüeh writers, wherein non-existence is higher than or "outside of" existence. Such a view, of course, represents a misunderstanding of Prajñā-pāramitā. Hsieh understands that the Path is within the conventional

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[7] T 52, p. 225b.

("When one is within existence, it is learning. . . ."), but he misses the point that there is no difference between the absolute and the conventional ("Awakening is outside of existence. . . ."). It is perhaps worthy of mention that Hsieh characterizes the Chinese as finding it easy to "see principle" (chien-li) and difficult to "take in the teachings" (shou-chiao), while for the "barbarians"[8] precisely the opposite is the case.

When we pick up the all-at-once/step-by-step theme in the early eighth century, it is no longer the subject of friendly discussions between eminent literati and clerics accustomed to "pure talk" sessions where little more than personal prestige was at stake, but one of the main props in the struggle over patriarchal succession within Ch'an, where the stakes were slightly more tangible: imperial patronage with all its honors, subsidized monasteries, and vast followings among the populations of the capital cities. Robinson compares the acrimony and threats over the Ch'an patriarchal succession after the fifth patriarch Hung-jen (600?-674?) to the atmosphere prevailing among the revolutionaries of Lenin's time.[9]

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[8]T 52, p. 225a. The term i-jen ("barbarians") here probably refers loosely to Central Asians and Indians.

[9]Richard H. Robinson, The Buddhist Religion, The Religious Life of Man (Belmont, Calif.: Dickenson Publishing Company, Inc., 1970), p. 93.

In both cases the participants felt that everything hung in the balance.

In 732 an unknown monk from Honan province, known to us now as Ho-tse Shen-hui, mounted a platform before a large conference in a monastery outside of the T'ang eastern capital Loyang.[10] Shen-hui's sermon (and his many later sermons) were nothing if not audacious. They were a blistering attack upon the most prestigious and powerful Ch'an lineage of the day, the "Laṅkāvatāra lineage" or "southern lineage" (probably the "southern" India origin of the Laṅkāvatāra)[11] of Shen-hsiu (606?-706) and his successors, P'u-chi (d.739) and I-fu (d.736).[12]

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[10]Philip B. Yampolsky, The Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch (New York: Columbia University Press, 1967), pp. 23-38.

[11]Yampolsky, The Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch, p. 29.

[12]Both P'u-chi and I-fu had studied under Shen-hsiu. The Leng-chia shih-tzu chi (T 85, p. 1290c) lists P'u-chi as the eighth patriarch. Both of these monks enjoyed imperial patronage and held the title National-teacher (kuo-shih).

At present we do not possess sufficient materials for a complete assessment of the teaching of this lineage. There is the prospect that Ch'an texts in Tibetan brought back from the Tun-huang caves will increase our knowledge of "Laṅkāvatāra" Ch'an. Japanese scholars are just beginning to study these texts. However, we are at least certain that a significant part of its teaching was the the "five expedients" (wu fang-pien),[13] each of the five being based on a particular sutra or sastra.

A short quotation on each of the "five expedients," drawn from the Ta-ch'eng wu fang-pien pei-tsung is informative.

> First expedient called "the gate of displaying the Buddha substance" or "the gate of divorcing from thoughts": "Beginning awakening is the Buddha Path. Original awakening is the Buddha substance. The word 'awakening' means that body and mind divorce from thoughts [li-nien]. Divorcing from thoughts is the Path. Body and mind divorced from thoughts, reflective illumination sees the dharmakaya and one obtains entrance into the Buddha Path."[14]

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[13]Kuno Hōryū, "Hokushū Zen," Taishō Daigaku gakuhō, No. 30-1 (March, 1940), p. 150. This article contains an edited text of the Ta-ch'eng wu fang-pien pei-tsung (pp. 150-63) from which the following excerpts have been drawn. Tsung-mi gives a summary of these five expedients in his Yuan-chüeh ching ta-shu ch'ao, ZZ 1, 14, 3, pp. 277L-278R.

[14]The Ta'ch'eng ch'i-hsin lun says: "The word 'awakening' means mind and body divorce from thoughts. Divorced from thought-marks is equal to space. There is nowhere it does not penetrate." (T 32, p. 576b)

Second expedient called "the gate of opening up wisdom" or "the gate of the immovable": "Divorcing from thoughts is the immovable. This immovable from samadhi produces the expedient of knowledge, opens the gate of knowledge." (Based on the Saddharma-puṇḍarīka-sūtra)[15]

Third expedient called "revealing the inconceivable": "What is the inconceivable [pu ssu-i]? Answer: Mind is not thinking [pu-ssu] and mouth is not talking [pu-i]. When mind is not thinking, mind is tathata. When mouth is not talking, body is tathata. When body and mind are tathata, it is the inconceivable tathata liberation."(Based on the Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa)[16]

Fourth expedient called "the gate of illuminating the true nature of all dharmas": "The Viśeṣa-cinta-brahma-paripṛccha-sūtra says: 'What is the true nature of all dharmas?'[17] Answer. . . . When mind does not arise and is constantly without marks and pure, it is the true nature of all dharmas."

Fifth expedient called "perceiving non-difference": "East, west, south, north, hell-beings, hungry ghosts, men, gods, common men, noble ones, boys, girls, sentient-beings, insentient things -- one body [is] many bodies and one dharma [is] many dharmas." (Based on the Avataṃsaka)[18]

What P'u-chi's "southern" or "Laṅkāvatāra" lineage was teaching was probably not far from what the fifth patriarch Hung-jen had taught. No one in the lineage

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[15]T 9, p. 7a.

[16]T 14, pp.546a-547a.

[17]T 15, p. 36b.

[18]T 10, p. 85a.

would have described the five expedients as "step-by-step" in any way. However, at his conference Shen-hui charged,[19] among other things: that while Hung-jen had handed Bodhidharma's robe (the "seal") to Hui-neng (making him the authentic sixth patriarch), P'u-chi has usurped the title "seventh patriarch" and calls his master Shen-hsiu the sixth; that people used to say "in the South, [Hui-]neng; in the North, [Shen-]hsiu," and thus, though P'u-chi claims to represent the "southern lineage" he really represents "the northern"; that all the patriarchs from Bodhidharma down had a special relationship to the Vajracchedikā, not the Laṅkāvatāra venerated in P'u-chi's "Laṅkāvatāra lineage"; and, finally, that P'u-chi's "northern lineage" is a "step-by-step" gate, while the "southern lineage" descending from Hui-neng is "all-at-once." Shen-hui was forceful:

> The world is mind. Mind is empty and calm without any thoughts, and so we say it illuminates all the worlds. Students! Mind is neither green nor yellow nor red nor white. It neither exists nor enters, neither goes nor comes, is neither near nor far, neither past nor present. It has neither mental concentration nor lack of mental concentration. To be like this is to be in conjunction. . . . Those who determine to realize mind face the three [enemy] armies, and, letting their bright blades descend, cut bodies with swords as fast as the wind, seeing no-mindfulness. They are as hard as a vajra, absolutely immovable. Even if they were to see numberless Buddhas coming,

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[19] Yampolsky, The Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch, pp. 27-29 and 34-35.

> they would not for a moment have a rejoiceful mind. Even if they were to see numberless sentient-beings suddenly perishing, they would not for a moment raise a compassionate mind. This is the Great Person who has obtained empty, equal mind.[20]

With dogged determination, for almost three decades, Shen-hui continued his attacks upon the "northern lineage." His efforts were eventually successful, and his Ch'an became the dominant one in Ch'ang-an and Loyang. He may even have been posthumously designated "seventh patriarch" by a commission of Ch'an worthies convened by a member of the imperial family.[21] Shen-hui's oratorical

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[20] Hu Shih, Shen-hui ho-shang i-chi (1930; rpt. Taipei: Hu Shih chi-nien kuan, 1968), p. 133.

[21] Tsung-mi, in his Yüan-chüeh ching lüeh-shu ch'ao, says: "In 796, by order of the heir-apparent, all the Ch'an worthies were assembled in order to formally ascertain the purport of the Ch'an gate. Subsequently, they set up Ch'an master Shen-hui as the seventh patriarch. Within the Shen-lung Monastery, by imperial order a memorial inscription was bestowed. At present, a eulogy for the seventh patriarch in the imperial script circulates throughout the world." (ZZ 1, 15, 2, p. 131L) Tsung-mi also mentions this event in the Ch'an Chart: "Therefore, the Emperor Te-tsung ordered the heir-apparent to assemble all the Ch'an worthies in order to formally ascertain the purport of the Ch'an gate and inquire into which transmissions are collateral and which orthodox [cheng]. Subsequently, an imperial decree came down setting up Ho-tse Ta-shih as the seventh patriarch. Within the Shen-lung Monastery there was a memorial inscription. Furthermore, a eulogy for the seventh patriarch in the imperial script circulates throughout the world." (ZZ 2, 15, 5, p. 434R) However, Yanagida Seizan, Shoki Zenshū shisho no kenkyū (Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1967), p. 346, doubts that this actually occurred. In Yanagida's opinion, it does not seem plausible that, thirty years after his death, Shen-hui should suddenly be set up by the imperial house as the "seventh patriarch."

and political skills were honed to a mirror finish. Perhaps, to reinvoke Robinson's comparison, they were up to the level of those of a Lenin or a Trotsky.

Having topled so imposing an opponent, Shen-hui's Ch'an failed to fulfill its initial promise. Within several generations of disciples from Shen-hui, it was no more than one house among many, called "Ho-tse" because its headquarters were located at the Ho-tse Monastery in Loyang.[22] Of the major disciples of Shen-hui, only two stand out. The first, Mo-ho-yen, achieved fame by carrying the all-at-once/step-by-step controversy beyond the borders of China into "T'u-fan" (Tibet).[23]

From the latter half of the seventh century until almost the middle of the ninth, T'ang-Tibetan relations consisted of armies clashing, envoys passing back and forth,

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[22]From 745 until his death in 762 (with the exception of a period of exile at the time of the An Lu-shan Rebellion) Shen-hui lived at the Ho-tse Monastery in Loyang.

[23]The Ch'an master of the "Council of bsam-yas" is identified as a disciple of Shen-hui in Jao Tsung-i, "Shen-hui men-hsia Mo-ho-yen chih ju-tsang," Symposium on Chinese Studies Commemorating the Golden Jubilee of the University of Hong Kong 1911-1961, Vol. 1 (1964), pp. 174-5 and Kajiyama Yūichi and Ueyama Shunpei, Kū no ronri (Chūkan), Bukkyō no shisō, 3 (Tokyo: Kadokawa shoten, 1969), p. 165. Tsung-mi in his Ch'an Chart (ZZ 2, 15, 5, p. 435R) lists eighteen disciples of the "seventh patriarch" Shen-hui, including Mo-ho-yen. Unfortunately, the best available study of the Shen-hui lineage, Ui Hakuju, Zenshū shi kenkyū (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1939), I, pp. 195-268, lists no biographical sources for Mo-ho-yen.

and treaties.[24] The fierce Tibetans were a persistent thorn in China's side (perhaps a little more than a thorn -- in 763 their calvalry looted and burned a good part of Ch'ang-an). The Tibetans no doubt realized the immensity behind the polished diplomats and frontier generals of China.[25] Buddhism probably first penetrated Tibet in 641, when the Tibetan king married a Chinese princess. It can have been little more than a court interest. In the latter half of the eighth century another king, Khri-sroṅ-lde-btsan, founded bsam-yas Monastery (the first) and patronized the translation of both Indian and Chinese texts. Gradually two rival parties emerged: an Indian and a Chinese (mostly Ch'an), the latter considerably stronger.[26] Sometime before 781 Shen-hui's disciple Mo-ho-yen, a venerable Ch'an master of about eighty, in the company of another Shen-hui disciple Fa-i,[27] entered Tibet, where Mo-ho-yen soon became one of

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[24]The following account of early Tibet is drawn mainly from David Snellgrove and Hugh Richardson, A Cultural History of Tibet (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1968), pp. 27-49, 63-65, and 77-80.

[25]An excellent piece of Tibetan pre-Buddhist literature is an exchange of taunts between one of these Chinese generals and his Tibetan counterpart, contained in Snellgrove and Richardson, A Cultural History of Tibet, pp. 61-62.

[26]Giuseppe Tucci, Minor Buddhist Texts, Part II, Serie Orientale Roma, IX, 2 (Roma: Instituto Italiano Per Il Medio Ed Estremo Oriente, 1958), p. 112.

[27]Jao Tsung-i, "Shen-hui men-hsia Mo-ho-yen chih ju-tsang," p.175.

the most popular of the many expatriate Ch'an masters. Within some years of Mo-ho-yen's arrival, the king intervened by inviting from India Śāntarakṣita's (the first abbot of bsam-yas Monastery) disciple Kamalaśīla. Śāntarakṣita, we are told, had said in his will that if the (Ch'an) heresy got out of hand, his disciple Kamalaśīla should be invited to Tibet. The king doubtless sensed that Chinese influence was growing too strong.[28] A debate was held at bsam-yas, the center of court-supported Indian missionary work.

The debate(s) between Mo-ho-yen and Kamalaśīla stretched over a considerable period of time, perhaps as much as a year and a half, with the Tibetan king attending some sessions.[29] A Tibetan source which records fragments of the sayings of Ch'an masters in Tibet during the period of the early kings says of Mo-ho-yen: "And also, from explanations originating in the sutras, he said that all samsara arises from mind and that mind itself is eternally inexpressible and that the mind-nature (sems kyi raṅ bźin) is enlightenment itself.[30]

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[28]Giuseppe Tucci, Minor Buddhist Texts, Part II, p. 9.

[29]Giuseppe Tucci, Minor Buddhist Texts, Part II, p. 287.

[30]Compare this with the Ch'an realization which directly reveals the mind-nature (hsin-hsing) described in Section 24 of the following translation.

All sentient-beings have the nature of enlightenment. Sentient-beings and enlightenment are non-dual. If one perceives in that way, he becomes a Great Person. So he said."[31] Though the Tibetan source elsewhere coats Mo-ho-yen with a patina of tantric practices, the doctrinal content of this passage coincides with Tsung-mi's resume of the Ho-tse teaching. The Tibetan names for the opposing sides in the debate, (T.) ston min pa/ a transliteration of (C.) tun-men [p'ai] ("party of the all-at-once gate") and rsten min pa/chien-men [p'ai] ("party of the step-by-step gate") are Ho-tse terms for itself and the lineage of Shen-hsiu and P'u-chi.[32]

Kamalaśīla's rebuttal can be more or less reconstructed

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[31] This source is the bka'-t'aṅ-sde-lṅa, a work belonging to the rdzogs-chen sect of the rñiṅ-ma-pa. In his Minor Buddhist Texts, Part II, Tucci provides both a partial Tibetan text (pp. 68-81) and an English rendering (pp. 81-102). The Tibetan text of the passage quoted here is found on pp. 69-70 and an English rendering on p. 84. The bka'-t'aṅ-sde-lṅa shows a number of affinities to the Li-tai fa-pao chi (T no. 2075), the history of the Ching-chung house of Ch'an located in Ch'eng-tu (Szechuan). In addition to those listed by Tucci (pp. 65-66), compare the Li-tai fa-pao chi's account of Chin ho-shang's "three phrases" (san chü-yü/T 51, p. 185a) with the following: "Ch'an master 'jug-du said: 'No-mind is śila. No-remembering is samadhi. Non-production of the maya mind is prajna." (Tucci, pp. 71 and 86)

[32] Tsung-mi, for instance, uses such terms in his Yuan-chüeh ching lüeh-shu ch'ao (ZZ 1,15,2, p. 131R-L) to refer to the Shen-hui and Shen-hsiu lineages respectively. The bka'-t'aṅ-sde-lṅa says (Tucci, pp. 69 and 82) that Mo-ho-yen's lineage taught the cig car 'jug pa ("all-at-once entrance"; according to Mahāvyutpatti = yāuga padya-praveśa). This probably renders tun-men, in opposition to the rim 'jug pa or "step-by-step entrance" (Tucci, pp. 70 and 85), probably rendering chien-men.

from several sections of his first Bhāvanā-krama,[33] a work of enormous importance in the molding of Tibetan Buddhism: "Enlightenment is not obtained without practice [pratipatti]. . . . In short, the practice of the bodhisattva is of the nature of prajna and means [upāya; i.e., the paramitas other than prajna]; it is not prajna alone, nor is it means alone. As the Ārya-vimalakīrti-nirdeśa says: 'Means divorced from prajna and prajna divorced from means is the bondage of bodhisativas.' . . . In all the ten stages of the bodhisattva, the paramitas are to be fully practiced."[34] Kamalaśīla is reminding Mo-ho-yen that it is only by relying on the conventional truth that one attains nirvana. The verdict of the orthodox Tibetan tradition is that a silenced Mo-ho-yen handed the victory garland of flowers to the Indian pandit, but a Chinese work, Wang Hsi's Tun-wu ta-ch'eng cheng-li chüeh in one fascicle, in its preface has the Tibetan king saying: "The Ch'an principles opened up by Mo-ho-yen make the sutra texts finally clear, one without error. From now on, whether monk or layman, everyone is to rely on his Dharma and practice it."[35] In any case the Indian Madhyamaka/

[33]After the debate, Kamalaśīla (c. 740-95) wrote three manuals entitled Bhāvanā-krama ("Stages of Development").

[34]Giuseppe Tucci, Minor Buddhist Texts, Part II, pp. 193-95.

[35]Jao Tsung-i, "Shen-hui men-hsia Mo-ho-yen chih ju-tsang," p. 174. See also Paul Demiéville, Le Concile de Lhasa, Bibliothèque de l'Institut des hautes études chinoises, V.7 (Paris: Impr. nationale de France, 1952), p. 442.

Yogacara/logic and its concomitant mantrayāna won out in Tibet and the all-at-once gate of the "southern lineage" of Ch'an withered to the status of a vestigial organ. In the three or four decades following the council, Chinese studies at the Tibetan court -- history, literature, and philosophy -- also atrophied.[36]

The second of the major disciples of Shen-hui to attract our attention is the only one whose lineage can be traced: Tz'u-chou Chih-ju (723-811).[37] Chih-ju dwelled in his later years at the Fa-kuan Monastery in Tz'u-chou (on the southwestern border of Chihli, close to the northern border of Honan). Wei-chung ho-shang[38] was a disciple of

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[36]Snellgrove and Richardson, A Cultural History of Tibet, p. 64.

[37]Chih-ju's (also known as Fa-ju) family name was Wang. He was a merchant who raised the thought of enlightenment at the Hsiang-kuo Monastery in Loyang. He left home under Dharma master Hung-ssu. Later (sometime after 745) in Loyang he met Shen-hui and became his disciple. After Shen-hui's death he ascended the T'ai-hsing Mountains (on the border of three provinces -- Honan, Shansi, and Chihli). He stopped on Ma-t'ou Feng ("pea ") and built a thatched hut. Subsequently, a local official had a monastery erected for him. This is probably the Fa-kuan Monastery, since Ma-t'ou Feng is near Tz'u-chou. Another official requested him to enter the city but he would not do so. He died at the age of eighty-eight.

[38]Wei-chung's (also known as Nan-yin) family name was Chang. After receiving Chih-ju's Dharma, Nan-yin entered Szechuan. On the southern bank of the Shu-chiang he erected a thatched hut. From 785 until his death in 821 he lived at the Sheng-shou Monastery in Ch'eng-tu. A brief notice for Nan-yin in the Sung kao-seng chuan (T 50, p. 772b) mentions that Nan-yin "saw [Shen-]hui of Ching-chung Monastery [in Ch'eng-tu]." This line has caused some to doubt Tsung-mi's assertion that Nan-yin was in the lineage of Ho-tse Shen-hui. Actually, there is

Chih-ju. Wei-chung lived at the Sheng-shou Monastery in Ch'eng-tu (Szechuan) from 785 until his death in 821. Tao-yüan ho-shang[39] of Ta-yün Monastery in Sui-chou (Sui-ning hsien, Szechuan) was a disciple of Wei-chung. In Sui-chou Tsung-mi, studying at an academy there in order to prepare himself for the examinations, met Tao-yüan and immediately became his disciple. With Tsung-mi's death in 841, the Shen-hui lineage was extinguished. An epitaph by Hu Shih is appropriate: "There were few transmitters in the Ho-tse lineage. Even though there was the learned and literary Tsung-mi, [Ho-tse] never became a true seed of revolution."[40] By that time the "northern" Ch'an of Shen-hsiu and P'u-chi was also dead. Ironically, the Ho-tse lineage, which had such an enormous impact, even beyond the borders of China, during and immediately after the lifetime of its founder, did not survive much more than a century in all.

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nothing in the Sung kao-seng chuan notice that contradicts Tsung-mi. Ui, Zenshū shi kenkyū, I, p. 257, says that Nan-yin had probably already received Chih-ju's Dharma before he met Shen-hui of Ching-chung Monastery.

[39] Tao-yüan's family name was Ch'eng. No dates are known for this Ch'an master. Probably, he followed Nan-yin and later entered Sui-chou (Sui-ning hsien, Szechuan). In 822 Tao-yüan was welcomed by the monks and lay population of Ch'eng-tu upon his return to the Sheng-shou Monastery where he succeeded his former master Wei-chung who had died the previous year.

[40] Hu Shih, Shen-hui ho-shang i-chi, p. 60.

But the legend embellished or created by its founder, the legend of the poverty stricken boy from Ling-nan whose insight surpassed that of the most cultivated cleric, flourished.

By Tsung-mi's time, the Ch'an galaxy had a super-nova, a school that burst out of rural Kiangsi. The Kiangsi school claimed to be "southern" and Tsung-mi did not dispute that claim; he was, however, uneasy over this school's lack of step-by-step practice. At the same time, he had his misgivings about many of those who followed the textual path and got bogged down in endless explications of doctrine and terminology. This split between exegetes and Ch'anists is a main theme in Tsung-mi's writings. It might be worth mentioning that an analogous split does not seem to have arisen in late Indian Buddhism between sutra/sastra study and the mantra vehicle -- one had to study non-tantric texts before entering the tantric gate and the great scholars of non-tantric Buddhism were also followers of the mantra vehicle.[41] In the Ch'an Preface we find Tsung-mi saying in his most characteristic voice:

> Originally, the Buddha spoke both the all-at-once teaching and the step-by-step teaching, while

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[41] Hattori Masaaki and Ueyama Shunpei, Ninshiki to Chōetsu (Yuishiki), Bukkyō no shisō, 4 (Tokyo: Kadokawa shoten, 1970), pp. 11-12.

> Ch'an opens both the all-at-once gate and the step-by-step gate. The two teachings and the two gates fit together. At present, exegetes in a biased manner display the step-by-step principles and Ch'anists in a biased manner encourage the all-at-once realization. When a Ch'anist and an exegete meet, the distance between them is that between a northern and a southern barbarian. I, Tsung-mi, do not know what they have done in past births to perfume with such [vāsanā] as to obtain this mind. . . . I always lament discrepancies between men and the Dharma, when the Dharma becomes a disease for men. Therefore, I have selected passages from the sutras, the vinaya, the sastras, and the commentaries, and have opened widely the gates of śīla, samadhi, and prajna. I will show that all-at-once awakening benefits from step-by-step practice and will prove that what the [Ch'an] masters say coincides with the Buddha's mind.[42]

The Shen-hui lineage failed to survive, not because Tsung-mi was an ineffective champion of Ho-tse vis-a-vis the rising Kiangsi school, but because irresistable historical forces were at work. For all the revolutionary qualities of the old monk Shen-hui, he was bound to the traditional elite culture of the capitals. With the weakening of the imperial house and central government due to the An Lu-shan Rebellion (755-63), a truly revolutionary situation began to emerge. Large chunks of the empire were no longer under the control of the central government. There was a shift in political and cultural initiative from the imperial capital to the outlying provinces.[43] The Ch'an which had risen from the soil of Kiangsi, Fukien, and Hunan spread all over China,

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[42]Section 6 of the following translation.

[43]Yanagida Seizan and Umehara Takeshi, Mu no tankyū (Chūgoku Zen), Bukkyō no shisō, 7 (Tokyo: Kadokawa shoten, 1969), pp. 145-46. Yanagida stresses the rural orientation of the Kiangsi house of Ch'an.

gaining the allegiance of many of the new regional leaders. In short, the old canonical Buddhism centered in the northern capitals, the Buddhism which during the early and flourishing T'ang had produced so many great figures, such as Hsüan-tsang, K'uei-chi, Fa-tsang, Amoghavajra, Shen-hsiu, and Shen-hui, lost the mandate to the new Ch'an of the provinces. Tsung-mi looks back (in a Confucian sense) to flourishing T'ang. He tried to make the old new. By embracing both the all-at-once awakening of the Ch'an vanguard and the step-by-step practice of the exegetes, Tsung-mi sought to insure that the Ch'an movement would not completely sever its ties to the words of the Buddha and the bodhisattvas.

Echoes of the all-at-once/step-by-step controversy are still perceptible in the Southern Sung. Lu Hsiang-shan (1139-93) advocated a Confucian all-at-once gate, as we can see in his Sayings Record:

> The Principle of the Way is merely the Principle of the Way that is before the eyes. Even if one sees to the place of the sages, it is merely the Principle of the Way that is before the eyes. . . . Your ears are intrinsically astute. Your eyes are intrinsically bright. In serving your father you are intrinsically filial. In serving your elder brother, you are intrinsically submissive. You have never had any deficiency. It is not necessary to seek elsewhere. In your self you are established -- that is all there is to it. . . . Where my learning differs from that of others is that in me [tsai wo] there are none of the [excessive] restrictions of literary composition. Even if I use a thousand or ten-thousand words, it is merely to awaken to that [Principle]. In me [tsai wo] I have never added a few books. Recently, many critics have said: "With the exception of first establishing the

> great thing,[44] he is completely without talent."
> I hear this and say: "It is true."[45]

Lu's friend, Chu Hsi (1130-1200), fearing that such a teaching could lead to a dangerous antinomianism (the same fear which Tsung-mi had about the Kiangsi school), insisted upon a step-by-step path: diligent study of the principles embedded in the Classics and histories, active moral effort in all affairs in the light of those principles, and frequent periods of quiet-sitting. Chu Hsi says in his Classified Conversations: "The fact is, in learning there is the principle of step-by-step [chien] and not that of hurriedness [chi-po]. There are people who have said that study merely requires probing the one great thing, and then everything else is comprehended. In my opinion, one truly should not dare to speak like this. . . . Those who

[44]A reference to the Mencius, 6.15: "Kung-tu Tzu said: 'We are equally men, but some are great men and some are small men. Why?' Meng Tzu said: 'To proceed from the great body [ta-t'i] is to become a great man. To proceed from the small body is to become a small man.' [Kung-tu Tzu] said: 'We are equally men, but some proceed from the great body and some from the small body. Why?' [Meng Tzu] said: 'Faculties such as the ears and eyes do not think but are covered by things. When things interact with things, [the eyes and ears] merely draw them in. The faculty of the mind, however, thinks. When thinking, it obtains them. When not thinking, it does not obtain [them]. These are what Heaven has given us. If one first establishes the great thing [hsien li hu ch'i ta-che], then the small thing cannot snatch [him] up. This is all there is to becoming a great man.'"

[45]Hsiang-shan hsien-sheng ch'üan-chi, 34 (Yü-lu shang).

speak like this say that it is Heavenly Principle. They do not know that it is, on the contrary, human desire."[46]

[46] Chu-tzu yü-lei, 18.

CHAPTER TWO

FROM THE "JADE AND CASSIA KINGDOM"[47] TO THE COUNTRYSIDE

The culture of the T'ang capitals, Ch'ang-an and Loyang, was a culture dominated by a sophisticated elite accustomed to surroundings of beauty and elegance. It comes to life in the works of some of the T'ang poets. Though this metropolitan culture is most famous to us for its golden age in the early eighth century, it remained intact throughout the late eighth and early ninth centuries.[48] Kuei-feng Tsung-mi (780-841) was born in Szechuan and sealed by a Szechuan Ch'an master in the Ho-tse lineage. Nevertheless, he spent his mature years as a part of this

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[47]Li Ho (806-821) in one of his poems (SPPY, Li Ch'ang-chi k'o-shih, 4, pp. 27R-28L) calls Ch'ang-an a "jade and cassia kingdom" (yü-kuei kuo), an allusion to a passage in the Chan-kuo ts'e, where expensive jade and cassia wood are contrasted to food and firewood. For a translation of part of the poem and of the relevant Chan-kuo ts'e passage, see Margaret Tudor South, Li Ho: A Scholar-official of the Yüan-ho Period (806-821) (Adelaide: Libraries Board of South Australia, 1967), pp. 306-8 and 331-32. Li Ho wrote the poem on the occasion of his leaving the capital in the spring of 814. He contrasts his own poverty-stricken state with the opulence of Ch'ang-an's elite.

[48]Edward H. Shafer, "The Last Years of Ch'ang-an," Oriens Extremus, 2 (October, 1963), pp. 133-79. This article is a fascinating mosaic of the city of Ch'ang-an. The following details concerning the city have been derived from it.

metropolitan milieu, drawing upon the excellent libraries of the great monasteries to write his commentaries and treatises, practicing meditation in the Chung-nan Mountains just outside Ch'ang-an, speaking at court on occasion, and serving as friend and advisor as well as guru to various scholar-officials.

Despite An Lu-shan's occupation in 756 and the Tibetan looting of the city in 763,[49] Ch'ang-an, with its geometric gridwork of broad avenues, in Tsung-mi's time, was still the city in East Asia, boasting a population of perhaps a million. It was nothing short of a cosmopolis. Persians, Arabs, Sogdians, Turks, Tibetans, Manchurians, Indians, Jews, Japanese, and Koreans dwelled within its twelve gates. Concentrated in the eastern and central parts of the city were the great houses of ministers at court, aristocrats, and famous writers and poets. Many of these mansions possessed exquisite, sometimes quite exotic, gardens. The magnificent Buddhist establishments, in the first half of the ninth century, were much as they had been in the eighth. Tens of thousands of monks resided

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[49]Shafer, "The Last Years of Ch'ang-an," p. 143, says: "An Lu-shan's occupation in 756 had left the great palace intact, while the Tibetans, who invaded and looted the city in 763, had fired only private residences. The population suffered, but the form of the city remained essentially the same."

in and about the city. Certain favored masters occasionally lectured to the emperior himself on Buddhist doctrine. Since the time of Empress Wu, greatly favored clerics had been awarded the "purple robe," emblematic of the fifth rank of courtier. Tsung-mi frequently entered the palace to attend holiday celebrations or answer the emperor's questions about the Dharma. The leading monks of the monasteries and the educated upper-class of the east side of the capital mingled freely on a social basis. Ch'an masters often visited the mansions of wealthy patrons; writers, poets, and officials in their leisure hours often took excursions to the monasteries to savor the aesthetic delights of their gardens[50] and talk with Ch'an masters. Po Chü-i (772-846) provides us a glimpse of his milieu:

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[50]Shafer (pp. 152-53) describes one of the most beautiful of these gardens: "The gentry prided itself on gorgeous arrangements of garden plants, ranging down from flowering trees, such as the redbuds (tzu ching) in Tuan Ch'eng-shih's garden, to the tenderest herbaceous plants. Most popular of all were the tree-peonies (mu-tan). A vogue for planting elegant varieties of this shrub, hardly known before T'ang times, swept the aristocracy in the last decades of the eighth century, and in the early ninth approximated the tulipomania of the Netherlands in the seventeenth. Po Chü-i has described the Ch'ang-an flower market at the height of the peony season in spring, and Tuan Ch'eng-shih reports that in his lifetime a single flower might cost several ten thousand ch'ien. . . . Most famous of all the peony gardens was, characteristically, that of the great Tz'u en szu [Monastery], where there were two plots of flowers by the 'bath hall' (yü t'ang), each with five or six hundred blooms. Though the popular colors in this age were a pale pink and a deep 'purple' (tzu), this magnificent garden boasted a unique bed of deep, rich crimson flowers."

I go into the Hall and make my morning bow;
I retire to the Gallery and eat my early meal.
Then back I ride to the Chao-kuo Ward;
The horse is unsaddled; the master goes to bed.
There I sleep sound till noon comes,
And get up at last feeling thoroughly refreshed,
The more so at this lovely time of year
When after the rains the sky is soft and bright. . . .
In my jars is wine from Hu-hsien;
Above my wall, the Chung-nan Hills.
I slept alone, and am sitting all alone,
With open collar, facing the cool breeze.
Dhyāna monks presently begin to call,
And writers of verse, admitted one by one.
If I want to talk I talk for nights on end;
If I need sleep, I sleep the whole day.
I have to attend the early levee at Court;
But apart from that I can do exactly as I please.
As I grow older my health begins to improve;
In so humble a post my mind is completely at rest. . . .[51]

Tsung-mi became a friend of both Po and Chia Tao, another poet who belonged to Han Yü's circle, and had a number of lay disciples among those who were identified with Li Hsün. His closest lay disciple, P'ei Hsiu, eventually advanced to the highest rung of the service, that of Chief Minister.[52]

During this period the Ch'an lineage emanating from Kiangsi was outstripping all the others all over China,

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[51]Po wrote these lines in the early summer of 815. This partial translation is from Arthur Waley, The Life and Times of Po Chü-i (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd), p. 96. The original can be found in SPTK, Po-shih wen-chi, 6, pp. 19R-19L.

[52]Chia Tao (779-843) was from Fan-yang (near present day Peking). Because he was poor he left home to become a monk, taking the name Wu-pen. His poetic talent was recognized by the famous Han Yü, who persuaded him to return to secular life. He took the civil service examinations but failed. Subsequently, he became a Keeper of records (chu-pu) in Ch'ang-chiang (adjacent to Sui-ning hsien, Szechuan). Biographical sources for Li Hsün and a brief sketch of P'ei Hsiu are given in Chapter Three.

generating great excitement and recruiting enormous numbers of students. Tsung-mi, the defender of both Ho-tse "orthodoxy" and the canonical tradition, in his writings usually refers to this lineage as collateral "Hung-chou Ch'an." According to Tsung-mi,[53] the founder of Hung-chou, Ma-tsu Tao-i (709-88), was at first a disciple of the Korean Chin ho-shang,[54] also known as Wu-hsiang, of the Ching-chung house in Ch'eng-tu (Szechuan). Chin ho-shang's teaching, we are told, was a combination of Buddha-recollection and the "three phrases" (san chü-yü).[55] The former involved repetition of the name for as long as possible without taking another breath; when one finally runs out of air, thoughts stop. After this initial breath exercise, Chin ho-shang customarily expounded the three phrases. These were "no remembering"

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[53]The following account of Tao-i's career is based upon Tsung-mi's Ch'an Chart, ZZ 2, 15, 5, p. 434R-L.

[54]Chin ho-shang studied under T'ang ho-shang (Ch'u-chi). Later, he spent twenty years at the Ching-ch'üan Monastery in Szechuan and died in 762 at the age of 79.

[55]The following account of Chin ho-shang's Buddha-recollection and "three phrases" comes from the Li-tai fa-pao chi, T 51, p. 185a. Tsung-mi also give an account of Chin ho-sang's "three phrases" (san-chü) in his Yüan-chüeh ching ta-shu ch'ao, ZZ 1, 14, 3, p. 278L.

(wu-yi), "no mindfulness" (wu-nien), and "no illusion" (mo-wang). The first was said to be equivalent to śīla, the second to samadhi, and the third to prajna -- together they constitute the "dharani gate." Chin ho-shang frequently quoted the Ta-ch'eng ch'i-hsin lun and the Nirvāṇa-sūtra.

It was the custom with many Ch'an novices of this time to study awhile with one master and then move on. Tao-i left Chin ho-shang and eventually met Nan-yüeh Huai-jang (677-744), soon coming to see that Huai-jang's understanding was more penetrating than his own. The mountain meditator Huai-jang is a shadowy figure in Ch'an sources. Tsung-mi believed[56] that he was a co-student of Shen-hui under Hui-neng, but this connection to the "sixth patriarch" is probably fictitious.[57] We do know, however, that Huai-jang had studied under Hui-an (582-709), also known as Lao-an,[58] a major disciple of the fifth patriarch Hung-jen. Hui-an at one time had enjoyed the patronage of the Empress Wu.[59] Tsung-mi described Hui-an's Ch'an as

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[56] Ch'an Chart, ZZ 2, 15, 5, p. 434L.

[57] Yanagida Seizan, "Baso Zen no shomondai," Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū, 17, No. 1 (December, 1968), pp. 36-37.

[58] Hui-an's family name was Wei. He was a man of Chih-chiang in Ching-chou (Chih-chiang hsien, Hupei). Between 627 and 649 he served as a disciple of the fifth patriarch Hung-jen. Lao-an ("Old An") is an appropriate name for this Ch'an master.

[59] This is mentioned in his biography in the Sung kao-seng chuan (T 50, p. 823b-c) and by Tsung-mi in his Yüan-chüeh ching ta-shu ch'ao (ZZ 1, 14, 3, p. 278L).

"adherence to neither the teachings nor the conduct and the extinguishing of perception."[60] Hui-an's disciples did not receive the precepts, neither read nor copied the texts, did not produce iconography -- all such things were held to be "discrimination" (vikalpa). Tsung-mi further explains Hui-an's "extinguishing of perception" as follows: All samsara is production of thought and all production of thought is illusion -- to discuss neither good nor evil and not produce thought is the real. After a period of tutelage under Huai-jang, Tao-i moved to the Hung-chou area (Nan-ch'ang hsien, Kiangsi) and later at the K'ai-yüan Monastery there he propagated Huai-jang's teaching.

In his critical classification of the Ch'an lineages Tsung-mi parallels Hung-chou Ch'an with the tathagatagarbha texts, particularly the Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra.[61] He informs us that Hung-chou takes as its canonical precedent the Laṅkāvatāra idea that "the tathagatagarbha is the cause of both good and non-good and it creates sentient-beings in all destinies."[62]

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[60] Yüan-chüeh ching ta-shu ch'ao, ZZ 1, 14, 3, p. 278L. The following details are also based on this text.

[61] See Sections 24 and 29 of the following translation.

[62] Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra, T 16, p. 510b. Tsung-mi says in both his Ch'an Chart (ZZ 2, 15, 5, pp. 435L-436R) and his Yüan-chüeh ching ta-shu ch'ao (ZZ 1, 14, 3, p. 279R) that "their [i.e., the Hung-chou] idea relies on" this passage from the Laṅkāvatāra. Though he does not quote the passage in his summary of the Hung-chou teaching contained in the following translation (Section 24), the idea is nevertheless present.

Tao-i's greatest disciple was Pai-chang Huai-hai (720-814). Ling-yu Wei-shan (771-853) and Huang-po Hsi-yün (?-850) were co-students under Huai-hai. When Tsung-mi speaks of "the Hung-chou," we must keep in mind that his main contemporaries in that lineage were Hsi-yün and Wei-shan -- the former on Mt. Huang-po in Kao-an, which is near Hung-chou, and the latter on Mt. Wei in neighboring Hunan.[63] Huai-hai, Wei-shan, and Hsi-yün all hailed from Fu-chou, which at this time was a malarial region, a place of extreme banishment (since severity was measured in terms of distance from Ch'ang-an) for scholar-officials who had offended the emperor or run afoul of political enemies at court. In the minds of northerners, Chiang-nan, the area south of the Yangtze, called up images of a lush landscape teeming with mynas, monkeys, barbarian faces, and barbarian speech. Once Chiang-nan entered the bloodstream of a receptive northerner, he was likely to be transfixed, as we see in the case of the following poem by Wei Chuang (836?-910), who had fled the Ch'ang-an area for Chiang-nan in the late ninth century when Huang Ch'ao's army was on the rampage:

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[63]Tsung-mi's Ch'an Chart (ZZ 2, 15, 5, p. 435R) mentions "Nan-yüeh Jang," "Hung-chou Ma," and "Pai-chang Hai," but does not say anything about Hsi-yün or Wei-shan. For the purposes of the chart, Tsung-mi probably did not feel that it was necessary to trace the lineage more extensively.

Everyone speaks in praise of Chiang-nan
A wanderer should spend old age here
The spring rivers are bluer than the sky
Asleep in a painted boat I hear the rain

The one beside the wine-jar is like the moon
Her white wrists are frozen, two snows
Not yet old, I tell myself: Do not return home
Returning north would surely cut me inside[64]

Little or nothing is known of the three Hung-chou masters mentioned above, and that in itself, of course, is a significant fact. Certainly, in the light of their descriptions embedded in the "spoken records" literature, they were a far cry from "illustrious monks" (kao-seng).

Hung-chou showed a simplicity and directness absent in the great seats of Buddhist learning and practice in Ch'ang-an and Loyang, where scholarly monks labored to preserve and elaborate the canonical tradition and Ch'an masters gave instruction to poets and high court officials. The Hung-chou literature we possess is written in a patois. It is nothing if not straightforward. This is how Tsung-mi characterizes the typical Hung-chou master:

> At present there is a type of person who says: "If it's illusion, follow it [wang tsung t'a wang]. If it's real, follow it. Each of them is proper to this mind. What need is there to change them? In doing, let doing take its

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[64] SPTK, Hua-chien chi, 2, p. 14R. There is a translation in James J. Y. Liu, The Art of Chinese Poetry (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1970), pp. 31 and 56. There is a discrepancy in the sixth line between SPTK and Liu's version.

> course. If you'd like to rest, let resting take its course. If you encounter food, eat. If you meet clothes, put them on. Know nothing of liking things or disliking things. Walk letting luck take its course. Live letting conditions take theirs. If sleep comes, lie down. When you wake up, proceed on your way. East, west, south, north -- what really existent dharma abides?"[65]

The Buddhist saint has appeared in many guises -- wealthy North Indian merchant, Central Asian wonder-worker, polished missionary to the Chinese gentry. Perhaps we see him here accommodating himself to rough Chiang-nan society.

Whereas most of the Ch'an lineages in the capitals and in Szechuan produced historical works on the Kao-seng chuan model or independent treatises, one of the distinctive traits of the Hung-chou was its "sayings books" (yü-pen), which in the early Sung came to be called "sayings records" (yü-lu).[66] We cannot help but think of the Lun-yü. The Hung-chou "spoken records" are a pai-hua (vernacular) literature: colloquial pronouns and interrogatives; te replacing the literary chih to express genitive; ma as an interrogative particle; le to indicate completed action, etc.[67]

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[65] Yüan-chüeh ching ta-shu, ZZ 1, 14, 2, p. 192L. Note the use of the colloquial pronoun.

[66] Yanagida, "Baso Zen no shomondai," p. 38.

[67] A convenient way to go about compiling a list of the colloquial elements in Hung-chou literature is to consult the index of such Japanese translations as Yanagida Seizan, Rinzai roku, Butten kōza, 30 (Tokyo: Daizō shuppan kabushiki kaisha, 1972), pp. 394-406. Also, the forthcoming Goroku no rekishi (volume 20 in the Zen no goroku series) by Iriya Yoshitaka and Yanagida Seizan should be informative.

Hung-chou held that meditation connected to everyday life is necessary.[68] Thus, every word and every action of the master was valued as a precedent by his followers. As a consequence, dutiful students, probably secretly, took notes on the master's daily words and deeds as an aid to emulating him. The yü-pen emerged from these notes to eventually become a substitute for the sutras and sastras. This process is clearly a re-enactment of the beginnings of the Buddhist tradition. Of course, in the India of the Buddha's time, transmission was oral and relied on memorization, while here it is written, but, in both cases, there was a conscious turning away from the venerated language of culture to the vernacular.

Decades before 845, the culminating year of the great suppression of foreign religions in China, Hung-chou Ch'an had become dominant.[69] Soon after the suppression was lifted, the Hung-chou house reemerged as vigorous as it have ever been, producing numerous famous masters in the late ninth and tenth centuries, while the metropolitan lineages, including the metropolitan Ch'an lineages, ended abruptly with the suppression. The standard histories provide little information about the Hui-ch'ang Suppression, and so we must

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[68]Yanagida Seizan, "Zenshū goroku no keisei," Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū, 18, No. 1 (December, 1969), p. 40.

[69]Iriya Yoshitaka, trans., Denshin hōyō, Zen no goroku, 8 (Tokyo: Chikuma shobō, 1969), p. 156. The essay following the translation is by Yanagida Seizan.

look to the Japanese pilgrim Ennin, who witnessed these events firsthand. From his diary[70] it is clear that the persecution was linked to: 1. the long-standing antagonism between the scholar-officials and the eunuchs; and, 2. the Emperor Wu-tsung's fanatical espousal of Taoism and consequent antipathy toward Buddhism. As Reischauer says,[71] we shall probably never know the exact relationship between these two factors. It seems that some of the scholar-officials, who were not themselves opposed to Buddhism as a system of thought and practice, supported the emperor's purge primarily because they hoped it would drive a wedge between the emperor and the eunuchs, most of whom were very closely identified personally with Buddhism.

From 842 to 844 the suppression proceeded on a low key -- those monks who could not produce the proper papers were compelled to reenter lay life and the private wealth of various other monks was confiscated. But in 844 the court began to purge all remaining monks. The great purge came in successive stages. Eventually, in many parts of China numerous monasteries were destroyed, monastery property was confiscated, and Buddhist literature was banned.

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[70]Edwin O. Reischauer, Ennin's Travels in T'ang China (New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1955), pp. 227-57.

[71]Reischauer, Ennin's Travels in T'ang China, p. 237.

Within Ch'ang-an, only four monasteries were left functioning, two of those being in the poorer western half of the city.[72] Although the Emperor Hsüan-tsung re-established eight monasteries in Ch'ang-an immediately after Wu-tsung's death in 846, Ch'ang-an's lineages were henceforth barren.

The local officials in Kiangsi and Hunan did in fact carry out the emperor's suppression orders, though perhaps not with the same degree of thoroughness that these orders were executed within the northern capitals and adjacent areas. But the great Hung-chou masters responded by either blending into the mass of common people or moving into the nearby forest areas. Wei-shan's funeral inscription, composed by a Cheng Yü of Fan-yü (present day Kuang-chou in Kuangtung) reads:

> Wu-tsung destroyed the monasteries and drove away the monks, and, consequently, [T'ung-ch'ing Monastery] became empty. The master there [i.e., Wei-shan] hastily covered his head [in layman fashion] and became one of the people [wei-min]. He disliked being distinguished from the ignorant masses, and educated people respected him more than ever. . . . P'ei Hsiu believed in Buddhism fervently. Just then Hsüan-tsung loosened the restrictions of Wu-tsung and so [P'ei Hsiu] invited [Wei-shan] and went out to meet him. He had [Wei-shan] ride in his own palanquin, following the procession in person. . . . Furthermore, he restored T'ung-ch'ing Monastery where [Wei-shan] had once lived. Again, many disciples came, just as in the beginning. The master saw all such things as like maya and did not give them a thought.[73]

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[72]Shafer, "The Last Years of Ch'ang-an," p. 149.

[73]The T'an-chou ta wei-shan t'ung-ch'ing ssu ta-yüan ch'an-shih pei-ming ping hsü, in the T'ang-wen ts'ui, 63.

Unfortunately, we do not possess materials which tell us directly of the activities of the other great Hung-chou master, Huang-po Hsi-yün. However, according to a biography of Ch'u-nan,[74] a disciple of Hsi-yün, the suppression struck immediately after Ch'u-nan received Hsi-yün's Dharma and Ch'u-nan then fled deep into the forests and valleys. This biography further relates that when, in 846, P'ei Hsiu was posted in Wan-ling and invited Hsi-yün to come down from the mountains, Hsi-yün emerged with his disciple Ch'u-nan. We can surmise that Hsi-yün had been with Ch'u-nan and other disciples the whole time in the mountains.[75]

Ch'ang-an was sacked by the army of Huang Ch'ao in 881. By Southern Sung times, hardly anything is left of the splendor of the city. The cultural center has shifted southward to Fu-chou, which had been gradually developing during the late T'ang and Five Dynasties. The Ch'an master Ta-hui Tsung-kao (1089-1163) and the great scholar Chu Hsi lived in the area where Huai-hai, Wei-shan, and Hsi-yün had been born. In the late T'ang and Five Dynasties, there was a great deal of destruction in the North, but Chiang-nan[76]

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[74]Sung kao-seng chuan, T 50, p. 817c.

[75]Iriya Yoshitaka, trans., Denshin hōyō, p. 171.

[76]Covering Hunan, Kiangsi, Chekiang, Fukien, and the sections of Kiangsu and Anhui south of the river.

remained relatively peaceful. In the states of Wu-yüeh and Nan-t'ang[77] the yü-pen were collected and edited.[78] The results of this compiling work served as the scaffolding for the new reflection on the Ch'an tradition during the early Sung. In this early Sung systematizing period, Lin-ch'i I-hsüan (d. 867) comes to be viewed as belonging to the direct line of descent of the Hung-chou, which is traced from Tao-i to Huai-hai to Hsi-yün to I-hsüan. I-hsüan, a native of Shantung, went to Kiangsi as a youth to study with Hsi-yün. I-hsüan left Mt. Huang-po at the time of the suppression and went to Hopei, where he spent his active years. Hopei,[79] far to the north, had a long-standing tradition of separatism. I-hsüan's patron there was the local "boss" Wang Ch'ang-shih, a member of the family (of barbarian extraction) which held power in the area. The government alternated between pacification campaigns

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[77]These are two of the Ten Kingdoms. Wu-yüeh (907-78) had its capital at Hangchow in Chekiang. The Southern T'ang (937-75) had its capital at Nanking.

[78]Yanagida, "Zenshū goroku no keisei," pp. 45-46.

[79]Yanagida, Rinzai roku, pp. 286-87. See also Yanagida Seizan, "Tō matsu Godai no kahoku chihō ni okeru Zenshū kōki no rekishiteki shakaiteki jijō ni tsuite," Nihon Bukkyō gakkai nempō, 25 (March, 1960), pp. 171-86.

against and agreements with these rebels. Wang's title (*fu-chu*) was not an official one given out by the court -- it rested on the troops at his disposal. I-hsüan's vigorous style no doubt appealed to Wang. One of the differences between Tsung-mi and I-hsüan, we might say, is the difference between the Chief Minister P'ei Hsiu and the *fu-chu* Wang Ch'ang-shih.

CHAPTER THREE

KUEI-FENG TSUNG-MI'S LIFE

The historical sources for Tsung-mi's life bring us no closer to the man than a formal portrait of him which resides in a temple in Osaka prefecture in Japan.[80] As a venerated Ch'an master he sits in full lotus upon a large highbacked chair draped in silk, a baton-like object in his right hand. The painting, no doubt, is meant to depict him at the height of his career, when he was a Ch'an guru to the elite of Ch'ang-an.

The sources tell us that Tsung-mi was born in 780 in Hsi-ch'ung hsien in Kuo chou (west of Nan-ch'ung hsien, Szechuan).[81] His family, the Ho, is described as one of

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[80]For a reproduction, see Kamata Shigeo, trans., Zengen shosenshū tojo, Zen no goroku, 9 (Tokyo: Chikuma shobō, 1971), preface.

[81]For Tsung-mi's life and works I have consulted the following sources and secondary works:

Sung kao-seng chuan, T 50, pp. 741c-743a.

Fo-tsu t'ung-chi, T 49, p. 293c.

Fo-tsu li-tai t'ung-tsai, T 49, pp. 635b-636a.

the wealthy and powerful ones in the region.[82] Szechuan was quite far removed from turmoil of the North where loyalist and rebel armies marched back and forth. From the age of six to sixteen, he applied himself to the classics; from the age of eighteen to twenty-one, he listened to Buddhist lectures and studied Buddhist texts.

Lung-hsing fo-chiao pien-nien t'ung-lun, ZZ 2b, 3, 4, pp. 336R-337R.

Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu, T 51, pp. 305c-308b.

Yüan-chüeh ching ta-shu ch'ao, ZZ 1, 14, 3, p. 224R et passim. Autobiographical material.

Kuei-feng ting-hui ch'an-shih yao-pin ch'ing-liang kuo-shih shu contained in the Yüan-chüeh ching lüeh-shu chu, T 39, pp. 576c-578a. Tsung-mi's correspondence with Ch'eng-kuan.

Kuei-feng ch'an-shih pei-ming ping hsü contained in the Ch'üan T'ang-wen, 743. Tsung-mi's funeral inscription written by P'ei Hsiu.

Furuta Shōkin, "Keihō Shūmitsu no kenkyū," Shina Bukkyō shigaku, V. 2, No. 2 (May, 1938), pp. 83-97.

Ui Hakuju, trans., Zengen shosenshū tojo (Tokyo: Iwanami bunko, 1939), pp. 236-41.

Kamata Shigeo, Chūgoku Kegon shisō shi no kenkyū (Tokyo: Zaidan hōjin Tōkyō Daigaku shuppankai, 1965), pp. 575-94.

(I have not yet seen Kamata Shigeo's Shūmitsu kyōgaku no shisō shi teki kenkyū, published by Tokyo Daigaku shuppankai.)

Kamata Shigeo, trans., Zengen shosenshū tojo, Zen no goroku, 9 (Tokyo: Chikuma shobō, 1971), pp. 349-75.

Yamazaki Hiroshi, Zui Tō Bukkyō shi kenkyū (Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1967), pp. 223-37.

[82] Sung kao-seng chuan, T 50, p. 741c.

In this period he probably saw himself as a Vimalakīrti-type layman, for he says he "wore white garments [i.e., the apparel of a Buddhist layman] and lived on his farm."[83] At the age of twenty-two he began a two-year concentration on Confucian studies, this time in a more formal setting, at the I-hsüeh Academy (I-hsüeh Yüan)[84] in Sui-chou (Sui-ning hsien, Szechuan). Such schools assisted students in amassing the knowledge needed to pass the examinations.

In 804, at the age of twenty-four, in Sui-chou he happened to meet Tao-yüan ho-shang of the Ta-yün Monastery there. The two had a karmic rapport. The only mention we have of this Tao-yüan is in Tsung-mi's writings, where it is said that "the Dharma which the ho-shang [Tao-yüan] has obtained is the essential teaching of Ts'ao-ch'i [Hui-]neng ho-shang of Ling-nan."[85] As mentioned earlier, Tao-yüan stood in the fourth generation of the Ch'an lineage of Ho-tse Shen-hui. Tsung-mi immediately requested Tao-yüan to shave his head and admit him as a disciple, and the request was granted.

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[83] Yüan-chüeh ching ta-shu ch'ao, ZZ 1, 14, 3, p. 222R.

[84] I have been unable to locate any information on this academy.

[85] Yüan-chüeh ching lüeh-shu ch'ao, ZZ 1, 15, 2, p. 106L. Ling-nan is present day Kuangtung and Kuangsi.

During his period as a novice, Tsung-mi was among a number of monks invited to a dinner at the home of a local official by the name of Jen Kuan. Among the texts in this official's personal collection was a copy of the _Yüan-chüeh ching_.[86] After reading only a few lines, Tsung-mi began jumping uncontrollably with joy, experiencing an awakening. Upon returning to the monastery, he reported these events to his master, and we are told that he said: "You will be a great propagator of the perfect, all-at-once teaching. The Buddha spoke this sutra especially for you."[87] This incident occurred in 804.

For the next several years, Tsung-mi made an intensive study of the _Yüan-chüeh ching_, utilizing various commentaries at his disposal. According to one of Tsung-mi's own commentaries on this sutra (written later), it is "complete with respect to both the gate of awakening and the gate of practice."[88] Tsung-mi summarizes his life up to this point:

> When young, I concentrated on the "patents of Lu" [i.e., Confucian studies]. At the time of my capping [i.e., in my twenties], I inquired into the "Indian heaps" [i.e., Buddhist texts]. Both are

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86 The _Yüan-chüeh ching_ (T no. 842) purports to be a translation from Sanskrit done in 693, but it is probably a Chinese composition. See Section 29/n.21 of the following translation.

87 _Yüan-chüeh ching lüeh-shu_, T 39, p. 523c.

88 _Yüan-chüeh ching lüeh-shu ch'ao_, ZZ 1, 15, 2, p. 107R.

> like sinking fish-nets, their flavor no more than that of husks and dregs. Fortunately, I met Fu-shang [Tao-yüan]. I was attracted to him as a needle [is attracted by a magnet] or a tiny particle [is attracted by amber]. In Ch'an I encountered the southern lineage. In the teachings, I met this sutra [i.e., the _Yüan-chüeh ching_]. At one word [spoken by Tao-yüan], the mind-ground opened up completely. With one roll [of this sutra], the doctrines were clear and bright like the heavens.[89]

In 808 Tsung-mi received the full precepts from Tao-yüan and was ordered by Tao-yüan to visit Ching-nan Wei-chung, Tao-yüan's own master, who lived in the Sheng-shou Monastery in Ch'eng-tu. Wei-chung is reported to have predicted to the newly arrived monk: "You are one who will transmit the teaching. You should preach at the imperial capital."[90] In Ch'eng-tu Tsung-mi also met Shen-chao (776-838),[91] another student of Wei-chung. Upon first meeting Tsung-mi, Shen-chao said: "He is a bodhisattva. Who

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[89] _Yüan-chüeh ching lüeh-shu_, T 39, p. 524b.

[90] _Sung kao-seng chuan_, T 50, p. 741c.

[91] Shen-chao's family name was Chang. He was a native of Szechuan (Ching-ch'eng in Shu-chou). In Loyang he dwelled at the Feng-kuo Monastery. Tsung-mi and Shen-chao also had one more thing in common -- they were both friends of the poet Po Chü-i. Shen-chao's funeral inscription by Po says of the Ch'an master: "He left Szechuan and came to know the people of Loyang. He opened six altars. For thirty years he spoke the Dharma according to the abilities [of people]. Many were awakened by his words." (_Po Hsiang-shan chi_, 70)

can know him?"[92] Later, Shen-chao was to become famous in Loyang for his eloquence in preaching the Dharma.

While serving Tao-yüan, Tsung-mi had studied the Fa-chieh kuan-men[93] attributed to Tu-shun (557-640). His introduction to the voluminous writings of Ch'ing-liang Ch'eng-kuan began in 810 when he was in Hsiang-yang (Hupei). At the Hui-chüeh Monastery he met a disciple of the famous Ch'eng-kuan, Ācārya Ling-feng. At this time Tsung-mi was sick in bed for several months and became very emaciated. An almost instant rapport arose between the bed-ridden guest and his host Ling-feng. Ling-feng presented Tsung-mi with copies of Ch'eng-kuan's Hua-yen ta-shu[94] and Hua-yen ta-shu ch'ao,[95] and instructed him in these texts.

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[92] Sung-kao-seng chuan, T 50, p. 741c.

[93] The Fa-chieh kuan-men, apparently, has never existed as an independent work in the canon. It is now found immersed in the Hua-yen fa p'u-t'i hsin chang (T no. 1878) of Fa-tsang and in two commentaries: the Hua-yen fa-chieh hsüan-ching (T no. 1883) of Ch'eng-kuan and the Chu hua-yen fa-chieh kuan-men (T no. 1884) of Tsung-mi. Tsung-mi's commentary seems to be based heavily on that of his master Ch'eng-kuan. For a discussion of the Kuan-men, see Kamata, Chūgoku Kegon shisō shi no kenkyū, pp. 59-77.

[94] T no. 1735. Also called the Ta fang-kuang fo hua-yen ching shu. This is a mammoth commentary on the Avataṃsaka -- sixty fascicles.

[95] T no. 1736. Also called the Ta fang-kuang fo hua-yen ching sui-shu yen-i ch'ao. This commentary on the above commentary is ninety fascicles.

Tsung-mi wrote that he felt like "a thirsty man encountering the drink of immortality or a poor man finding a wishing jewel."[96] Despite his precarious health, he threw himself into a day-and-night study of these commentaries, "using the shu to understand the sutra and the ch'ao to understand the shu."[97]

In 811, at the age of thirty-one, Tsung-mi went to the eastern capital Loyang, a city noted for its many literary men, somewhat removed from the hub of political activity in the western capital. Loyang, of course, was particularly associated with the founder of his Ch'an lineage, Ho-tse Shen-hui. He paid his respects at the pagoda of the "seventh patriarch" and then took up residence in the Yung-mu Monastery, where he gave a series of lectures. As was frequently the case with travelers, Loyang was for Tsung-mi merely a way station on the road to Ch'ang-an. His lectures at the Yung-mu Monastery were quite good and created a bit of a stir. An overzealous student by the name of T'ai-kung is said to have become so excited by them that he cut off his arm, in the manner of Hui-k'o, Bodhidharma's

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[96]The Kuei-feng ting-hui ch'an-shih yao-pin ch'ing-liang kuo-shih shu, T 39, p. 577a.

[97]T 39, p. 577a.

successor.[98] The stories and ideas of Ch'an have permeated the air by this time.

On October 4, 811, Tsung-mi dispatched two followers, Hsüan-kuei and Chih-hui, to Ch'ang-an. They carried a request for instruction, couched in an ornate literary style, to Ch'eng-kuan. Ch'eng-kuan (738-839), seventy-three years of age at the time, was generally recognized as the most erudite Buddhist master in China.[99] He was learned in virtually all fields of Buddhist studies, having spent many of his early years apprenticing himself to various masters in the North and in the Yangtze delta region. He traveled from Dharma master to Dharma master in the manner of a peripatetic Ch'an novice, studying Nan-shan vinaya[100] under Pen-chou T'an-i, Hua-yen under Ta-hsin (or Fa-hsin) ho-shang of Loyang, San-lun under Dharma master Hsüan-p'i of Chin-ling, and T'ien-t'ai under Chan-jan in Su-chou. Ch'eng-kuan

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[98] T 39, p. 577b. Yampolsky, _The Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch_, pp. 5 and 10, says that the story of Hui-k'o's cutting off his arm begins with the _Ch'uan-fa pao-chi_ which was compiled in the first decade of the eighth century. Thus, by the time of Tsung-mi's lectures at the Yung-mu Monastery, the story had already been circulating for a century.

[99] Kamata, _Chūgoku Kegon shisō shi no kenkyū_, pp. 158-69. Kamata's study of Ch'eng-kuan's life and works is the best available.

[100] The Nan-shan lineage was a branch of the Ssu-fen lü lineage (based on the Dharmaguptaka vinaya) founded by Tao-hsüan (596-667). Nan-shan refers to the Chung-nan Mountains southwest of Ch'ang-an.

also received Ch'an instruction from Niu-t'ou Hui-chung, Ching-shan Fa-ch'in, Lo-yang Wu-ming (whom Tsung-mi lists[101] as a co-student of Tz'u-chou Chih-ju under Ho-tse Shen-hui) and Hui-yün (a northern Ch'an master). In 768 he was summoned by imperial command to become a "polisher" in Amoghavajra's translation project. Beginning in 776 he spent ten years in the Wu-t'ai Mountains in Shansi (also called by Buddhists the "Ch'ing-liang Mountains") putting most of his efforts into commentaries on the Avataṃsaka-sūtra. Eventually, he "raised a thought for worldly people and studied worldly knowledge": the histories, the philosophers, poetry, siddhaṃ, the four Vedas and the five sciences (panca-vidyā).[102] In 796 he assisted Prajñā as a "detail-setter" in the translation of an enlarged version of the Dharma-dhātu-praveśa or Gaṇḍavyūha and was awarded the purple robe. In 799 he was awarded the title "Ch'ing-liang kuo-shih" ("National-teacher Ch'ing-liang"). Numerous other titles fell to him from time to time. In the course of his abnormally long lifetime (he died at a little over one-hundred) he served as the personal teacher of seven successive emperors, from T'ai-tsung (r. 763-79) to Wen-tsung (r. 827-40). When one adds to this his great height (close to "ten feet"), one can imagine the reputation he enjoyed

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[101]Ch'an Chart, ZZ 2, 15, 5, p. 435R.

[102]Hua-yen hsüan-t'an hui-hsüan chi, ZZ 1, 12, 1, p. 4L. His claim to have studied the Veda is doubtful.

in Ch'ang-an and Loyang. Of his thirty-eight close disciples and one-thousand followers tradition holds that only two mastered his teaching: Seng-jui and Kuei-feng Tsung-mi.[103]

Ch'eng-kuan sent a reply on November 2, and Tsung-mi sent a second letter on November 13, both of which were later incorporated by Tsung-mi into one of his commentaries.[104] The return letter prompted Tsung-mi to leave for the western capital. Ch'eng-kuan, upon meeting the young Ho-tse Ch'an master, was struck by his aptitude, for Ch'eng-kuan is reported to have said: "Only you are capable of roaming with me in the flower-storehouse of Vairocana."[105] Tsung-mi studied under Ch'eng-kuan for two years, constantly in attendance upon the master day and night. This period marks the beginning of a new stage in Tsung-mi's ascendancy, for through his association with Ch'eng-kuan he was to gain entry to the court.

After the two-year period of intensive study with Ch'eng-kuan, Tsung-mi continued to live within the gates of Ch'ang-an for several years, until, in 816, he moved

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[103]Kamata, Chūgoku Kegon shisō shi no kenkyū, p. 167.

[104]See n. 81.

[105]Sung kao-seng chuan, T 50, p. 742a.

to the Chih-chü Monastery in the Chung-nan Mountains, a short distance southwest of the capital, for a period of seclusion. In the Chung-nan Mountains, which could be seen from the windows of some houses within the city, Tsung-mi composed his first works, two outlines of the contents of the Yüan-chüeh ching: the Yüan-chüeh ching k'o-wen[106] and the Yüan-chüeh ching tsüan-yao.[107]

He returned to Ch'ang-an in 819 and lived for a year at the Hsing-fu and Pao-shou Monasteries within the city. In those monasteries he carried out an in-depth study of the sastras of Maitreya/Asaṅga and Vasubandhu and wrote the Wei-shih lun-shu, a commentary on the Fa-hsiang text-book, the Ch'eng wei-shih lun.[108] He also studied the Vajracchedikā-sūtra,[109] the Mahāmegha-sūtra,[110] and the Chao lun.[111] This study resulted in the following commentaries:

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[106]Not extant.

[107]Not extant.

[108]See Section 25/n. 29 of the following translation. Tsung-mi's writings in general show a close familiarity with the intricacies of the Ch'eng wei-shih lun. His Wei-shih lun shu is not extant.

[109]See Section 27/n. 7 of the following translation.

[110]The Mahāmegha-sūtra was translated by Dharmarakṣa of the Northern Liang (=the Ta fang-teng wu-hsiang ching/T no. 387).

[111]T no. 1858. This is a collection of four essays by Seng-chao (384-414), the greatest of Kumārajīva's disciples.

the _Chin-kang ching shu-lun tsüan-yao-shu_,[112] the _Chin-kang ching shu-lun tsüan-yao-shu ch'ao_,[113] the _Ta-yün ching shu_,[114] and the _Chao lun chu-shu_.[115]

In 821, at the age of forty-one, he returned to the Chung-nan Mountains for another period of seclusion, this time at the Ts'ao-t'ang Monastery. A road ran from the Ming-te Gate of the city to Ts'ao-t'ang and, a short distance from the monastery, lay Kuei-feng ("Kuei Peak"). Perhaps because he spent a great deal of time in a hut on the side of this peak (mentioned in a poem by Chia Tao[116]) he became known as "Kuei-feng Tsung-mi." For a three-year period after reentering the mountains, he read through the entire canon. From 822 to 823 he wrote exegetical works: the _Yüan-chüeh ching ta-shu_,[117] the _Yüan-chüeh ching ta-shu ch'ao_,[118] the _Yüan-chüeh ching lüeh-shu_,[119] and the

[112]Not extant.

[113]Not extant.

[114]Not extant.

[115]Not extant.

[116]See the end of this biography.

[117]ZZ 1, 14, 2.

[118]ZZ 1, 14, 3.

[119]T no. 1795.

Yüan-chüeh ching lüeh-shu ch'ao.[120] He also composed the Yüan-chüeh ching tao-t'ang hsiu-cheng i,[121] a meditation manual based upon T'ien-t'ai Chih-i's Hsiu-hsi chih-kuan tso-ch'an fa-yao.[122] During this same period, at the Feng-te Monastery, also in the Chung-nan Mountains, he produced the Hua-yen lun-kuan[123] and the Ssu-fen lü shu,[124] a commentary on the Dharmaguptaka vinaya, the central text of the Nan-shan Discipline lineage.

In the decade or so following 823, Tsung-mi wrote a number of works which we cannot date with certainty: the Yüan-jen lun,[125] an essay which extended p'an-chiao to

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[120] ZZ 1, 15, 2-3.

[121] ZZ 2b, 1, 4-5.

[122] Sekiguchi Shindai, Tendai shōshikan no kenkyū (Tokyo: Risōsha, 1954), pp. 29-32. The Hsiu-hsi chih-kuan tso-ch'an fa-yao is T no. 1915.

[123] Not extant.

[124] Not extant.

[125] T no. 1886. In the year following his success in the examinations of 798, Li Ao, a disciple of Han Yü, published three essays entitled Fu-hsing ("On Returning to the Nature"). Han Yü, upon reading them, was aghast -- in his opinion, they were crypto-Buddhist. He immediately wrote a refutation in the form of the Yüan-hsing ("On the Origin of the Nature") and the Yüan-tao ("On the Origin of the Tao"). There are actually five essays in Han Yü's "On the Origin of . . ." series. Perhaps Tsung-mi's Yüan-jen lun was written in response to Han Yü's works. See J. K. Rideout, "The Content of the Yüan Tao and the Yüan Hsing," Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, V. XII (1947-48), pp. 403-8.

Confucianism and Taoism;[126] the Ch'i-hsin lun chu-shu,[127] a commentary on the Ch'i-hsin lun; the Yü-lan-p'en ching shu,[128] a commentary on the Ullambana-sūtra; the Hua-yen ching hsing-yüan p'in shu k'o[129] and Hua-yen ching hsing-yüan p'in shu-ch'ao,[130] exegetical works on Prajñā's translation

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[126]Fung Yu-lan, Chung-kuo che-hsüeh shih (1934; rpt. Hong Kong: Chung-kuo t'u-shu kung-ssu, 1959), pp. 798-99, calls this work a "precursor of the tao-hsüeh of the Sung and Ming" and suggests that many points in it may have influenced the Sung and Ming Neo-Confucians. For instance, the Ch'eng-Chu school's opposition between principle (li) and material-force (ch'i) developed one aspect of the Yüan-jen lun -- the opposition between mind (hsin) and material-force (ch'i). Fung also points out (p. 786) that Wang Yang-ming's liang-chih is much the same as Tsung-mi's chih (which in the following translation of the Ch'an Preface I have rendered as "Knowing"), but that Wang emphasized the moralistic side. In Derke Bodde's translation of Fung's great work the section on Ch'an is not based on Tsung-mi, but on what might be called the "Sung view" of Ch'an. Araki Kengo, Bukkyō to Jukyō (Kyoto: Heirakuji shoten, 1963), p. 165, says that Tsung-mi's fusionism opened the Buddhist Absolute to non-Buddhist thinkers and formed the starting point of a bridge between Buddhism and the other schools. That fusionism is clearly embodied in one of Tsung-mi's sayings preserved in the Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu: "Kuei-feng said: 'To do deeds which possess righteousness (yu i) is the mind of enlightenment, to do deeds which lack righteousness is the mind of distraction. Distraction arises from feeling-thoughts -- on the point of death one will be pulled into [rebirth] by karma. Enlightenment does not arise from feelings -- on the point of death one can turn over karma.'" (T 51, p. 308b)

[127]Not extant.

[128]T no. 1792. The Ullambana-sūtra was translated by Dharmarakṣa of the Western Chin (T no. 685). This sutra deals with offering the vessel of eatables to the Buddha and the community for the benefit of hungry ghosts "in suspense."

[129]ZZ 1, 7, 5.

[130]ZZ 1, 7, 5.

of the *Gaṇḍavyūha*; the *Chu hua-yen fa-chieh kuan-men*,[131] a commentary on the *Fa-chieh kuan-men* attributed to Tu-shun; the *Chu hua-yen fa-chieh kuan k'o wen*,[132] an outline of the same work; and the *Hua-yen hsin-yao fa-men chu*,[133] a commentary on Ch'eng-kuan's "mind summary" for Emperor Shun-tsung (r. 805), a Ch'an-flavored work. Tsung-mi seems to have specialized in all branches of Buddhist learning.

Tsung-mi frequently entered the palace and lectured on the essentials of the Dharma. In 828 he congratulated the Emperor Wen-tsung on the Emperor's birthday and was subsequently awarded the purple robe and the title "*ta-te*" ("great worthy"/*bhadanta*). Many of the scholar-officials at court found much to admire in him. At about this time he wrote the *Ch'an Chart*[134] in response to a question (probably sent as a letter) from his lay disciple, the scholar-official P'ei Hsiu. P'ei Hsiu's question is included at the beginning of the *Ch'an Chart*:

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[131]T no. 1884.

[132]ZZ 2, 8, 4.

[133]ZZ 2, 8, 4.

[134]ZZ 2, 15, 5.

> Minister P'ei Hsiu asks: "The Ch'an Dharma is greatly practiced. The followers of each lineage are different and slander one another. They are unwilling to find common ground. It is urgently necessary to distinguish the origins and histories [of the various lineages] and to know which are deep and which are shallow. Even though recently I have given attention to this, it is not yet clear to me. I dread making a mistake when choosing among them. I respectfully hope that you will briefly differentiate the various kinds on a few sheets and generally arrange in order the northern lineage, the southern lineage, the Ho-tse lineage and the Hung-chou within the southern lineage, the Niu-t'ou lineage and others, fully discussing the essentials, that is, which are shallow and which deep, which all-at-once and which step-by-step, and which hit the mark and which miss it. It will then serve as a tortoise or a mirror [with which I may practice divination] until the end of my life." (Hsiu) bows twice.[135]

Tsung-mi's answer includes the histories of the four major Ch'an lineages (with a chart), a summary and criticism of the teaching of each of these lineages (there is, of course, no criticism of the Ho-tse teaching), and a jewel analogy to illustrate the essential differences. The analogy proceeds as follows.[136] A bright jewel is confronted with a black object and hence it manifests a black reflection throughout. The northern lineage of Shen-hsiu believes in the jewel's brightness, but seeing only the blackness, comes to the conclusion that the jewel's brightness is obscured by the blackness and that the blackness must be

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[135] Ch'an Chart, ZZ 2, 15, 5, p. 433L.

[136] Ch'an Chart, ZZ 2, 15, 5, pp. 436L-437R.

wiped away. The Hung-chou points out that the blackness (or any other color) itself is the brightness; the brightness of the jewel free of any colored reflections will never be seen. The Niu-t'ou says that both the reflected colors and the bright jewel are empty and "cannot be gotten at." Lastly, the Ho-tse house says that, as the various colors are reflected one after the other in the jewel, one sees only brightness. The first three, Tsung-mi tells us, "have not yet seen the jewel." He also criticizes Hung-chou in the matter of step-by-step practice:

> Hung-chou always says: "Desire, anger, compassion, and goodness are all the Buddha-nature -- what difference is there [between any of them]?" This is like a man who merely recognizes that wetness from beginning to end is without difference, but does not realize that the merit of supporting a boat and the fault of overturning it are quite different. Therefore, although this lineage is near to the gate of all-at-once awakening, it has not yet hit the bullseye of the gate of step-by-step practice -- this is an error which is completely wrong. . . . As to Ho-tse, it holds that one must first all-at-once awaken, and then, relying on that awakening, practice. . . . This idea of all-at-once awakening and step-by-step practice exhausts the entire Mahayana canon.[137]

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[137] Ch'an Chart, ZZ 2, 15, 5, p. 438R. In Iriya, trans., Denshin hōyō, p. 162, Yanagida Seizan states that Tsung-mi's criticism of Hung-chou was later taken over by the Sung Neo-Confucians and made into the basis of their criticism of Buddhism. Compare Tsung-mi's misgivings about Hung-chou with Chu Hsi's misgivings about Buddhism in general: "The Buddhists forget the fine things and take the rough things, thinking that this is the Tao. Their holding that benevolence, righteousness, propriety, and wisdom do not lie in the Nature [The Ch'an master Ta-hui Tsung-kao says in his Letters that "benevolence, righteousness, propriety, wisdom, and faith

The Sung history of Ch'an, the Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu, mentions four scholar-officials who showed a particular interest in Tsung-mi: P'ei Hsiu, Hsiao Mien, Shih Shan-jen, and Wen Tsao.[138] Hsiao Mien,[139] distantly related to the Liang imperial house, became a Chief Minister in 810, but gave up the post in the following year and devoted himself to Buddhism. Nothing is known of Shih Shan-jen. Wen

are in the Nature and not in man." (T 47, p. 932c) See Araki Kengo, trans., Daie sho, Zen no goroku, 17 (Tokyo: Chikuma shobō, 1969), pp. 148-49] and their thinking that [all] action before the eyes is the Nature, is wholly this. This is completely erroneous from the start. This is the same thing as Kao-tzu asserted. For example, if the action of grasping a thing in hand is wholly the Nature, then grasping a sword and recklessly beheading people is likewise the Nature -- is it not?" (Chu-tzu yü-lei, 126)

[138]Hsiao Mien (T 51, p. 307a-b) asks Tsung-mi about Shen-hui's idea that, upon seeing the pure substance, the various samadhis and eighty-four thousand paramita-gates come into effect all-at-once (i-shih ch'i-yung). Shih Shan-jen (p. 307b-c) asks ten questions of Tsung-mi: What is the Tao and how does one cultivate it? Is cultivation all-at-once or step-by-step? How did the ho-shang (Tsung-mi) raise the thought of enlightenment (bodhi-citta)? etc. Tsung-mi answers with his teaching of all-at-once awakening and step-by-step practice, couched in the usual metaphors. Wen Tsao (pp. 307c-308a) asks about the spirit-nature (ling-hsing) of an enlightened man after his death -- Tsung-mi answers that all sentient-beings possess an awakened nature which is no different from the Buddha. In these dialogues with laymen we see the purely Ch'an side of Tsung-mi. One of the reasons he gives for compiling the Collected Writings on the Source of Ch'an was to provide an aid to Ch'an masters in question-and-answer sessions with people of varying abilities (see Section 9 of the following translation). Yamazaki, Zui Tō Bukkyō shi no kenkyū, pp. 231-34, briefly discusses these four laymen. Several of them seem to have been associated with Li Hsün, who comes up later in this chapter.

[139]His biography can be found in the Chiu T'ang-shu, 172, and the Hsin T'ang-shu, 101.

Tsao[140] was descended from a family of famous officials and served in his later years as President of the Ministry of Rites (li-pu shang-shu). P'ei Hsiu[141] undoubtedly was the closest to Tsung-mi. He composed prefaces to most of Tsung-mi's works and also wrote the master's funeral inscription. The Sung kao-seng chuan states: "Mi knew many minds, but none with the depth of the peaceful Minister [P'ei]. This was because they were of the same breath in their mutual quest. . . . A shadow waits upon the arising of a form. An echo follows the production of sound. Where Tsung-mi was, there was Minister P'ei. Without the Minister, how could one know Mi?"[142]

P'ei Hsiu belonged to the illustrious P'ei's of Ho-tung (Chi-yüan hsien, Honan). He and his two brothers all passed the chin-shih examination, and, toward the end of his official career, years after Tsung-mi's death, he rose to the rank of Chief Minister. From his middle years onward he became more and more concerned with Buddhist learning and practice -- a Confucian official by day and student of

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140His biography can be found in the Chiu T'ang-shu, 165, and the Hsin T'ang-shu, 91.

141His biography can be found in the Chiu T'ang-shu, 177, and the Hsin T'ang-shu, 182.

142T 50, pp. 742c-743a.

Buddhism in the evenings. Compared to someone like Po Chü-i, his knowledge of Buddhist doctrine was very sophisticated -- one sees this in some of his prefaces to Tsung-mi's works. He sought instruction in the teachings not only from Tsung-mi, but also from such scholars as Ch'eng-kuan and Tuan-fu.[143] After Tsung-mi's death, while posted in Chiang-nan, P'ei Hsiu sought out such Hung-chou masters as Hsi-yün and Wei-shan, compiling a record of Hsi-yün's sayings entitled the Ch'uan-hsin fa-yao.[144] This work, which became a classic of Ch'an literature in later centuries, perhaps shows the effect of P'ei Hsiu's long tutelage under Tsung-mi, for it is more systematic and literary than other Hung-chou spoken records.[145] P'ei Hsiu died in 860 at the age of seventy-three.

Shortly after 833 Tsung-mi wrote the Ch'an Preface, a critical classification of the Ch'an lineages and stages-of-the-Path manual all in one. It is probably his last work. On December 14, 835, he was implicated in the famous Kan-lu Incident[146] through his friendship with Li Feng-chi's nephew,

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143Tuan-fu of Ta-an kuo Monastery was well-versed in vinaya, Yogacara, and the Nirvana-sutra. His biography is in the Sung kao-seng chuan, T 50, p. 741a-c.

144T no. 2012A. P'ei Hsiu also compiled the Wan-ling lu (T no. 2012B) which is appended to the Ch'uan-hsin fa-yao.

145Iriya, trans., Denshin hōyō, p. 168.

146Yamazaki, Zui Tō Bukkyō shi no kenkyū, pp. 225-31.

Li Hsün, who was then serving as a Chief Minister.[147]

About two years earlier (833) Tsung-mi had visited Po Chü-i in Lo-yang, where Po was keeping a low profile in semi-retirement.[148] Po wrote a poem on the occasion of a dinner he gave for Tsung-mi and three other masters, including Shen-chao:

> Court scholar of the purple robe Po is an old man
> I do not keep close to the worldly vehicle but to
>   an understanding of the Tao
> As an official I have been posted in Lo-yang three
>   times
> In my visiting I am half the time among monks
> The "smelly towel" world in the end must be transcended
> By the incense and candle, I vow to be united
>   with those of the same causes and conditions
> After dinner what will I give as an offering?
> The mountain spring at the west pavilion, the breeze
>   through the northern window[149]

Li Hsün had also been in Lo-yang at the time, in mourning for his mother, but holding frequent meetings with fellow anti-eunuch conspirators, one of whom was a close friend of Po's.[150] Tsung-mi may have met and come to know Li Hsün

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[147]His biography can be found in the Chiu T'ang-shu, 169, and the Hsin T'ang-shu, 179.

[148]Arthur Waley, The Life and Times of Po Chü-i, p. 188.

[149]SPTK, Po-shih wen-chi, 64, pp. 7L-8R. "Smelly towel" is an allusion to the Taoist Huang-t'ing ching, which was popular at this time. See p. 56 of the Huang-t'ing ching edition cited in Section 18/n.3 of the following translation. The poem immediately preceding this one in the Po-shih wen-chi (p.7L) is entitled "For Ts'ao-t'ang Tsung-mi Shang-jen."

[150]Arthur Waley, The Life and Times of Po Chü-i, pp. 180-81.

during this excursion to the eastern capital; it is not impossible that he even had some knowledge of what was being planned, a supposition which fits in with Li Hsün's later behavior.

The regular bureaucracy, the "without," had long hated and feared the eunuchs, deadly kingmakers who operated in secrecy. Eunuchs had been instrumental in bringing the reigning emperor, Wen-tsung, to the throne, having killed his predecessor, Ching-tsung (r. 824-27). Elimination of the eunuch menace was only one part of the plan of Li Hsün, Cheng Chu,[151] and their co-conspirators. Their program to rejuvenate the dynasty also involved recovery of Kansu from the Tibetans and bringing the Hopei area back into the central government fold.[152]

The original plan was to strike when all of the eunuchs were attending the funeral of a poisoned comrade. About a week before the funeral, the plotters dumped this plan and improvised a new one. On December 14 it was reported at early court that sweet dew (kan-lu), and auspicious omen,[153]

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[151] His biography can be found in the Chiu T'ang-shu, 169, and the Hsin T'ang-shu, 179.

[152] Arthur Waley, The Life and Times of Po Chü-i, p. 187.

[153] The Tao-te ching links "sweet dew" with spontaneous equality among men, that is, peace in the empire. See Arthur Waley, The Way and Its Power: A Study of the Tao Te Ching and Its Place in Chinese Thought (New York: Grove Press, Inc., 1958), p. 183, for references.

had fallen during the night on some pomegranate trees in the courtyard of the Chin-wu Left Palace Guards. The emperor, who may have been in on the plot, ordered the chief eunuchs to investigate this auspicious omen and report back to him. But the ambush was faulty in execution. When the eunuchs arrived at the courtyard of the Left Palace Guards, they heard clanking from the weapons of the men hiding behind the screens.[154] Becoming fearful, they ran off and summoned their own military force. They began systematic executions of high officials and their clans, a reign of terror that lasted for quite some time. Both the secular and Buddhist histories record Li Hsün's flight and its repercussions. The Chiu T'ang-shu says:

> Knowing that things had not worked out, [Li Hsün] rode on horseback alone into the Chung-nan Mountains. At the [Ts'ao-t'ang] Monastery he presented himself to the monk Tsung-mi. Hsün's relations with Tsung-mi had heretofore been good. [Tsung-mi] desired to shave his hair and hide him away. His followers stopped this, and so, [Hsün] hastened to Feng-hsiang [west of Ch'ang-an], desiring to rely on Cheng Chu [his fellow plotter]. . . . [The general of the eunuch forces captured and] beheaded Hsün and left carrying his head. . . . Because Tsung-mi had taken in Li Hsün, Ch'ou Shih-liang [the eunuch leader] sent him bound into [the camp of] the Left Army. He charged Tsung-mi with the crime of not reporting and intended to

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[154] This is according to the account in Li Hsün's biography in the Chiu T'ang-shu. The Hsin T'ang-shu biography says that when the eunuchs arrived, a gust of wind happened to move the veranda screen and they saw the armed men hiding within.

> execute him. Tsung-mi said with composure: "Poor monk that I am, I have known Hsün for some years, and I also knew that he was in rebellion. However, according to the Dharma which my original master taught, I must attempt to save all who suffer when I meet them. I do not love my own life. If I die, it will surely be with a sweet heart." Director of armies [chung-wei] Yü Hung-chih [also known as Yü Heng-chih] admired this and sent up a memorial [requesting] a pardon [for Tsung-mi].[155]

Tsung-mi, probably through the efforts of Yü Hung-chih and other admirers, was subsequently released.

For the period from the Kan-lu Incident in 835 until his death in 841, the sources are silent about Tsung-mi's activities. He presumably went into seclusion again after his release. On February 1, 841, at the age of sixty-one, he died in sitting-posture at the Hsing-fu Monastery in Ch'ang-an. The Hui-ch'ang Suppression was about to begin. On February 17 his body was returned to Kuei-feng and on March 4 he was cremated. Twelve years later, Tsung-mi's most illustrious lay disciple, P'ei Hsiu, became a Chief Minister. At this time Tsung-mi was awarded the posthumous title "Ting-hui ch'an-shih" ("Samadhi-prajna Ch'an master")

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[155] From Li Hsün's biography in the Chiu T'ang-shu. The Hsin T'ang-shu account is much the same. The Sung kao-seng chuan, T 50, p. 742a-b, says that Hsün was accompanied by three other officials on his desperate ride into the Chung-nan Mountains, but that only Hsün wanted to be shaved and hidden away. In this incident, we see the Confucian side of Tsung-mi, who was on occasion referred to as a "Confucian monk" (ju-seng).

and a pagoda called "Ch'ing-lien" ("Blue Lotus") was erected to hold his cremated remains.

During Tsung-mi's lifetime and even after his death there was apparently a good deal of criticism of his activities. Partisan adherents of Ch'an accused him of tainting Ch'an with scholasticism. Some ridiculed him for his association with politicians and aristocrats. In writing Tsung-mi's funeral inscription, P'ei Hsiu defended the master against such charges: "Critics hold that the master did not keep Ch'an practice, that he lectured widely on the sutras and sastras, that he traveled among the famous in the capital, that he considered his task to be a revival [of the teachings]. Is it that he was used by the learned? Is it not that he has not been forgotten by [those concerned with] fame and profit? Ah! How could these critics know where the Great Way is going?"[156] The Sung kao-seng chuan summarizes Tsung-mi's multifaceted career: "Some asked: 'Is Master Mi a Ch'anist or an adherent of the vinaya or a sutra/sastra scholar?' Reply: 'Mi is a country fought over by four other countries [from each direction], but none of them can get hold of him and give him its name. . . ."[157]

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[156]The Kuei-feng ch'an-shih pei-ming ping hsü, contained in the Ch'üan T'ang-wen, 743. Quoted in the Sung kao-seng chuan, T 50, p. 742b.

[157]T 50, p. 742b.

Probably during the winter following Tsung-mi's death, Chia Tao wrote a poem entitled "Lament for Ch'an Master Tsung-mi":

> Birds shriek, snow on the mountain
> The master is gone, who will go for Ch'an?
> The dust on his writing table has piled up
>   since he nirvaned
> The color of the trees has changed since he was alive
> The storied pagoda faces the pine blowing
> Traces of footprints encircle the mountain spring
> Ah! I hear the "tiger of the sutras"
> He has just gone down to his dilapidated hut.[158]

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[158] SPPY, Chia Ch'ang-chiang chi, 8, p. 1L. I am indebted to Jonathan Chaves for pointing out this poem to me.

CHAPTER FOUR

TSUNG-MI AND THE DHARMATĀ LINEAGE

The concept of five patriarchs within a "Hua-yen lineage" begins quite late -- with Tsung-mi in his *Chu hua-yen fa-chieh kuan-men*.[159] In fact, consciousness of Hua-yen as a "lineage" (*tsung*) only begins with Ch'eng-kuan,[160] though he refers more frequently to the "Fa-hsing lineage" ("Dharmatā lineage" or "Dharma-nature lineage") than to the "Hua-yen lineage." The following is a brief outline of the five patriarchs as Ch'eng-kuan and Tsung-mi traced them.

The first is Fa-shun, who was also known as Tu-shun from his family name Tu. Japanese scholars hold a number

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[159] Kamata, *Chūgoku Kegon shisō shi no kenkyū*, p. 71. The passage in the *Chu hua-yen fa-chieh kuan-men* is T 45, p. 684c.

[160] Kamata, *Chūgoku Kegon shisō shi no kenkyū*, p. 51. The first time the term "Hua-yen tsung" is used is thought to be Ch'eng-kuan's *Hua-yen ching-shu*, T 35, p. 529b, and his *Yen-i* ch'ao, T 36, p. 51c.

of different opinions as to whether Tu-shun was actually the first patriarch.[161] Tu-shun left home at eighteen years of age to serve under a dhyana master noted for his supernatural powers (ṛddhi), and Tu-shun himself became known for his possession of such powers. Eventually, his fame spread and he received an invitation from the imperial house. He died in 640 at the age of eighty-four. It is important to note that his biography is included in a section on religious practitioners in the Hsü kao-seng chuan (the kan-t'ung p'ien).[162] Tsung-mi explains[163] that

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[161] For a resume of the opinions of Japanese scholars on this subject, see Kamata, Chūgoku Kegon shisō shi no kenkyū, pp. 51-52. The following biographical sketch of Tu-shun is based on Kamata, pp. 53-58.

[162] T 50, pp. 653b-654a.

[163] Tsung-mi's Chu hua-yen fa-chieh kuan-men says: "Shih Tu-shun of the Chung-nan Mountains of the capital collected [the Fa-chieh kuan-men]. . . . I have now called this a collection [chi] because the patriarch [Tu-shun] accorded with his own insight. He saw [chien] that all of the Buddhas and all of the sentient-beings within the Avataṃsaka, whatever body and mind and whatever [Buddha-] land, one after the other are functions of the substance of this dharma-dhātu. Such objects are immeasurable and without limit. Subsequently, with respect to these immeasurable object-realms, he collected [chi] their [various] types of principles, bound them into three levels [i.e., 1. the true-emptiness contemplation; 2. the principle-and-phenomena-unobstructed contemplation; and 3. the universal-inclosure contemplation], and directly wrote them down on paper in order to produce the insight of contemplation [kuan-chih] in men. It is not the same as a literary composition. This is the reason why I have simply called it a collection." (T 45, p. 684c)

Tu-shun's Fa-chieh kuan-men was not an ordinary literary composition, but a schematic of Tu-shun's meditative experiences based on the Ju fa-chieh p'in (Dharma-dhātu-praveśa/=Gaṇḍavyūha) of the Avataṃsaka. Thus, the Dharmatā lineage traced itself back to a yogin with supernatural powers and not to an exegete or commentator.

The second patriarch, Chih-yen, was quite different from his master Tu-shun.[164] He came from Kansu and joined Tu-shun when twelve years old. He apparently learned a considerable amount of Sanskrit in his younger years from two Indian monks. He studied She-lun Yogacara (based on Paramārtha's translation of the Mahāyāna-saṃgraha) under Fa-ch'ang (567-645) and he also studied vinaya, abhidharma, and various Mahayana texts with Dharma master Pien (probably Seng-pien, 568-642), who was also a student of Paramārtha's Yogacara translations. It is said that Chih-yen received explanations of the Avataṃsaka from a Chih-cheng. A strange monk taught him the meaning of the "six marks" in the Daśabhūmika-sūtra -- he contemplated these for a month and then awakened. Eventually, he received the patronage of the heir-apparent. He died in 668 at the age of sixty-six. Chih-yen's later years coincide with the return of Hsüan-tsang from India, and there is evidence of

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[164]The following biographical sketch of Chih-yen is based on Kamata, Chūgoku Kegon shisō shi no kenkyū, pp. 80-84.

influence from Hsüan-tsang's Yogacara translations in two of Chih-yen's later works.[165] Nevertheless, his position remained grounded in Paramārtha's translations and interpretations. In order to understand the opposition between the "old" (Paramārtha) and the "new" (Hsüan-tsang) Yogacara, it is necessary to know something about their Indian antecedents.

In the sixth century there were two great Buddhist universities in India: Nālandā (southeast of present day Patna) and Valabhī in the West (present day Valā).[166] Yogacara studies were flourishing at both these centers. This was the academic heyday of Yogacara, producing a profusion of divergent interpretations of Vasubandhu's system. The leading Yogacarin at Valabhī was Sthiramati (510-70/a disciple of Guṇamati); at Nālandā it was Dharmapāla (530-61), a disciple of a disciple of the logician Dignāga (c.480-540), whose theory of cognition had made an immediate impact in both Buddhist and orthodox circles. Dharmapāla inherited Dignāga's triple division of vijñāna (into prameya [=grāhyākāra]; pramāna [=grāhakākāra]; and phala [=sva-saṃvitti]) and amplified it with the addition of a part which cognizes self-cognizing (cheng tzu-cheng fen/

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[165] Kamata, Chūgoku Kegon shisō shi no kenkyū, p. 86. The two works are his Wu-shih yao wen-ta (T no. 1689) and K'ung-mu chang (T no. 1870).

[166] Hattori Masaaki and Ueyama Shunpei, Ninshiki to Chōetsu (Yuishiki), pp. 22-25, and Yūki Reimon, Seishin yuishiki no kenkyū, V. 1 (Tokyo: Tōkyō Daigaku Tōyō bunka kenkyūjo, 1955), pp. 7-13.

Sanskrit unknown).[167] Sthiramati, on the other hand, held a one-part theory[168] (here the sva-saṃvitti ["own-sensation"] is of the dependent-on-something-else nature and the other two parts are of the imagined nature), leaning in the direction of sunyata (the Madhyānta-vibhāga) and tathagatagarbha (the Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra) teachings.

While the principal translators of Yogacara texts into Tibetan, Jinamitra and Śīlendrabodhi, were of the Sthiramati lineage,[169] both types were extensively transmitted to China. The first Yogacara of any sort to reach China was transmitted through Guṇabhadra, a dhyana master from Central India (later to be regarded by some Ch'anists as the first patriarch of Ch'an) who arrived in Canton in 445 and translated, among other things, the Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra. Some few decades later, Bodhiruci of North India (arrived in 508) and Ratnamati of Central India began a collaboration

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[167] Masaaki Hattori, Dignāga on Perception, Harvard Oriental Series, 47 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968), pp. 29 and 107. The relevant Ch'eng wei-shih lun passage is T 31, p. 10b.

[168] Ui Hakuju, Yuishiki sanjūshō shakuron (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1952), p. 171. Later, Sthiramati's lineage came to be called "signless [nirākāra] vijnanavada" and Dharmapāla's lineage "with signs [sākāra] vijnanavada." See Takanori Umino, "The Vijñaptimātratā Theory of Ratnakāraśānti in the Prajñāpāramitopadeśa: On the Concept of 'Ākāra,'" Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū, V. XVII, No. 1 (December, 1968), pp. 7-11.

[169] Yūki Reimon, Seishin yuishiki no kenkyū, pp. 14-15.

on a translation of Vasubandhu's Daśabhūmika-śāstra, but disagreed in interpretation, with Bodhiruci saying that the ālaya-vijñāna is the "support" (i-ch'ih) and Ratnamati claiming it is tathata. This controversy led to a split of "Ti-lun" (taking its name from its primary reliance upon the Daśabhūmika-śāstra translation) into a "northern" and "southern" party. The northern advocated ālaya and the southern tathata,[170] with the northern eventually withering away. Ti-lun, having come by way of Central Asia, was centered at Lo-yang -- it gradually spread to Shensi, Hopei, etc.

In 546, Paramārtha arrived at the port of Canton. Paramārtha was a native of Udyāna (present day Ujjain) in the West of India. His "She-lun" Yogacara (taking its name from his translation of the Mahāyāna-saṃgraha) was that of the Guṇamati/Sthiramati lineage; he probably studied at Valabhī. Paramārtha's views coincided with those of Ratnamati. Hsüan-tsang originally studied "She-lun," traveling to India in order to investigate its fundamental works. However, while in India, Hsüan-tsang studied principally at Nālandā under Śīlabhadra (529-645), a disciple of Dharmapāla, and so brought back Dharmapāla's brand of Yogacara. Just as Paramārtha inserted taghagatagarbha ideas into his translations, Hsüan-tsang

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[170]See Chih-i's Fa-hua hsüan-i (fascicle 9).

built Dharmapāla's exegesis right into his Chinese renderings.[171] Hsüan-tsang's disciple K'uei-chi (632-82) subsequently became known as the first patriarch of "Fa-hsiang." During the reigns of T'ai-tsung (627-49) and Kao-tsung (650-83) Hsüan-tsang's brand of Yogacara enjoyed imperial patronage and enormous prestige within the elite Buddhist circles of the capitals.

In spite of the special position of Dharmapāla's Yogacara after Hsüan-tsang's return in 645, Chih-yen continued to base himself primarily on Paramārtha, that is, on the lineage of Guṇamati and Sthiramati. After Chih-yen, Paramārtha's work continued to be of the greatest importance within Dharmatā thought down to the time of Tsung-mi.

Fa-tsang is considered the third patriarch of the lineage.[172] He was born in 643 of Sogdian ancestry. At seventeen he heard Chih-yen lecture on the Avataṃsaka-sūtra and he became Chih-yen's disciple. In 701 Fa-tsang was invited by the Empress Wu to the palace to lecture on the Avataṃsaka. Empress Wu, in order to promote her new

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[171] Yüan-ts'e, in his commentary on the Saṃdhinirmocana-sūtra, the Chieh shen-mi ching shu, says that Paramārtha's nine-perceptions theory (the ninth is the amala-vijñāna/"the immaculate perception") "relies on Sthiramati's lineage." (fascicle 3) For Hsüan-tsang, see Yūki Reimon, Seishin yuishiki no kenkyū, pp. 217-21 and 252-55.

[172] The following biographical sketch of Fa-tsang is based on Kamata, Chūgoku Kegon shisō shi no kenkyū, pp. 129-34.

Chou dynasty vis-a-vis the T'ang of T'ai-tsung and Kao-tsung which had raised the Fa-hsiang lineage to such eminence, considered it necessary that her court be graced by equally great Buddhist masters. Fa-tsang and the Ch'an master Shen-hsiu, among others, answered this need admirably. With Fa-tsang Dharmatā thought is systematized and wedded to the imperial court. As a lineage it flourished only so long as the Chou/T'ang court flourished. Fa-tsang, the encyclopedic exegete, could not simply ignore Fa-hsiang Yogacara -- he had to include it within his own system and thus transcend it.[173] This he accomplished in his Hua-yen i-ch'eng chiao-i fen-chi chang (=Hua-yen wu-chiao chang) by introducing the tathata unchanging (chen-ju pu-pien)/tathata conditioned (chen-ju sui-yüan) dichotomy of the Ta ch'eng ch'i-hsin lun. Fa-tsang maintained Chih-yen's reliance on the Yogacara of Paramārtha.

The biography of the fourth patriarch, Ch'eng-kuan, has been sketched in the previous chapter. By Ch'eng-kuan's time the power and influence of Ch'an were making themselves felt within Dharmatā thought. Ch'eng-kuan studied in three of the major Ch'an lineages (Niu-t'ou, Ho-tse, and

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[173]For a description of Fa-tsang's efforts in this direction, see Kamata, Chūgoku Kegon shisō shi no kenkyū, pp. 134-44. The relevant passage in the Hua-yen i-ch'eng chiao-i fen-chi chang is T 45, p. 501a. See also Nagao Gajin, "Hōzō no sanshō setsu ni taisuru jakkan no gimon," in Gojū shūnen kinen ronshū (Kyoto: Kyōto Daigaku bungakubu, 1956), pp. 183-205.

Northern) and wrote one work which shows influence from Ho-tse Ch'an, the Hsin-yao fa-men, a "mind summary" for the Emperor Shun-tsung.[174] Significantly, Ch'eng-kuan altered slightly Fa-tsang's five-tiered p'an-chiao. Fa-tsang's system ran as follows: 1. the Hinayana teaching (hsiao-ch'eng chiao)=the Āgama-s; 2. the Mahayana beginning teaching (ta-ch'eng shih-chiao)= a. the Prajñā-pāramitā-sūtra-s and the San-lun and b. the Saṃdhinirmocana-sūtra and the Fa-hsiang; 3. the Mahayana final teaching (ta-ch'eng chung-chiao)=the tathagatagarbha texts; 4. the all-at-once teaching (tun-chiao)=the Vimalakīrti; and 5. the perfect teaching (yüan-chiao)=the Avataṃsaka-sūtra. Ch'eng-kuan held that the fourth level, the all-at-once teaching, was Ch'an.[175] He thus made the first attempt to relate Ch'an to the canonical tradition.

Ch'eng-kuan's moves in recognizing Ch'an were carried out to their logical conclusion by his disciple Tsung-mi. In his Ch'an Preface Tsung-mi discarded the p'an-chiao of Fa-tsang and erected a three-tiered scheme designed to show the convergence of Ch'an and the canonical teachings (chiao-ch'an i-chih). In the words of P'ei Hsiu, Tsung-mi

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[174] ZZ 2, 8, 4.

[175] Kamata, Chūgoku Kegon shisō shi no kenkyū, p. 588.

"took the three types of teachings of the Tathagata to seal [yin] the three types of Dharma gates of the Ch'an realizations, melting down the [golden] coins, bowls, hairpins, and bracelets into one gold ingot, mixing the cheese, cream, butter, and oil into one taste."[176]

In the first fascicle of the Ch'an Preface Tsung-mi eumerates ten different Ch'an lineages.[177] These ten are then arranged into three levels: 1. the realization of stopping the unreal and cultivating mind (hsi-wang hsiu-hsin tsung); 2. the realization of cut off and nothing to rely upon (min-chüeh wu-chi tsung); and 3. the realization of directly revealing the mind-nature (chih-hsien hsin-hsing tsung). These three are then shown to correspond respectively to: 1. the secret teaching which takes perception to negate objects (mi-i[178] chiang-shih p'o-ching

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[176] In his preface to the Ch'an Preface, T 48, p. 398b.

[177] These are: the Hung-chou or Kiangsi house; the Ho-tsė (Shen-hui) house; the Northern Ch'an of Shen-hsiu; the Ching-chung house of Chih-hsien in Szechuan; the Niu-t'ou house outside of Chin-ling (Nanking); the lineage of Shih-t'ou Hsi-ch'ien; the Pao-t'ang house of Wu-chu in Szechuan; the lineage of Kuo-lang Hsüan-shih in Szechuan; the lineage of Hui-ch'ou and Guṇabhadra; and the lineage of T'ien-t'ai Chih-i in Chekiang. See Section 12/n. 2-11 of the following translation.

[178] Hsüan-tsang translated the twenty-third verse of Vasubandhu's Triṃśikā as follows: "Relying on these three natures [i.e., the imagined, the dependent-on-something-else-arisen, and the completely perfected], those three no-natures are erected. Therefore, the Buddha, with a secret intention [mi-i] says [in the Prajñā-pāramitā-sūtra-s] that all dharmas are natureless." Mi-i renders saṃdhāya. See Yūki Reimon, Seishin yuishiki no kenkyū,

chiao)=the Saṃdhi-nirmocana-sūtra[179] and the Fa-hsiang lineage or Hsiang (marks) lineage; 2. the secret teaching which negates marks and reveals the Nature (mi-i p'o-hsiang hsien-hsing chiao)=the Prajñā-pāramitā-sūtra-s and the San-lun lineage or K'ung (emptiness) lineage; and 3. the open teaching which reveals that the True-mind is the Nature (hsien shih chen-hsin chi hsing chiao)=the Dharmatā lineage or Hsing (nature) lineage based on such sutras as the Avataṃsaka,[180] the Śrīmālā,[181] the Saddharma-puṇḍarīka,[182] the Nirvāṇa,[183] etc., and such sastras as the Ratna-gotra[184] the Buddha-gotra,[185] etc. In the second fascicle,[186] Tsung-mi shows how each of these three levels relates to the Buddha's long preaching career.

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p. 204. The Ch'eng wei-shih lun commentary for this verse says that the Buddha "spoke words of a secret intention to reveal the non-explicit meaning." (T 31, p. 48a) Thus, the "secret" teaching which takes perception to negate objects and the "secret" teaching which negates marks and reveals the Nature are of non-explicit meaning, that is, they are teachings having a meaning that is not clearly established, that has to be determined by inference or the like.

[179] See Section 25/n.27 of the following translation.

[180] See Section 29/n.19.

[181] See Section 29/n.23.

[182] See Section 29/n.25.

[183] See Section 29/n.26.

[184] See Section 29/n.27.

[185] See Section 29/n.28.

[186] In Section 48 of the following translation.

Tsung-mi wrote exegetical works on Prajña's translation of the enlarged _Gaṇḍavyūha-sūtra_, but the bulk of his commentaries and outlines deal with a short tathagata-garbha sutra, actually a Chinese composition, the _Yüan-chüeh ching_. In response to a question from his patron concerning just what it was the master did, the Hung-chou master I-hsüan answered that he taught people such as the questioner "to become a Buddha or a patriarch."[187] At least half Ch'an master, Tsung-mi held that the _Avataṃsaka_ was too complex for most, but that the "concise" _Yüan-chüeh ching_ could do the same for those with the abilities for all-at-once awakening:

> It is like a man who has a disease and goes to a great doctor. He should merely seek methods by which to treat his own disease, buy the medicine, and cure it. He should not peruse thousands upon thousands of volumes of medical books, covetousness issuing from his head as he searches and reads and discriminates differences. If one is like this, before his reading is finished, his disease will bring on death. It is also like a man entering the sea to gather priceless pearls -- the treasures within the ocean are numberless. If, whenever he sees one, he grabs it, and, whenever he hears of one, he seeks for it, then he will grow old doing so and die in the ocean. What day will he be able to return to Jambudvīpa[188] and relieve his poverty? One should merely seek the [_cinta-_]_maṇi_ ("wishing jewel"), and, once he obtains it, take it home. Spontaneously, the thousand

[187]T 47, p. 503c.

[188]The name of a great island to the south of Mt. Sumeru -- India.

> gems and the ten-thousand treasures will all be there. Why? Maṇi is a Sanskrit word which means "as you wish" [ju-i]. As to the various things in one's "wish" such as treasures, clothing, food, etc., this pearl can produce them. You have whatever you wish. Therefore, it is called "as you wish". . . . If you want to explain the Dharma gate by a concise statement of its essentials which will lead to full comprehension of the explicit teaching, do not go to the Avataṃsaka. From ancient times tripiṭaka-masters of both the western region and this land have rated it the highest, just as [Ch'eng-kuan] states in his shu [i.e., the Hua-yen ta-shu]. However, the text [of the Avataṃsaka] is as vast as the ocean, with its teachings criss-crossing each other, and, consequently, those with a beginner's mind become confused and difficulty enters. They should not [try to] seek out all the gems in the great ocean. Thus, [the Avataṃsaka] is not as good as this one sutra [i.e., the Yüan-chüeh ching] which speaks of all-at-once entrance, which brings the marks back to the Nature.[189]

In the background we can perhaps see Hung-chou Ch'an's enormous popularity with its idea that "everything is real" and its practice of "letting the mind take its course."

The teaching of the Dharmatā lineage had been worked out as a teaching not geared to varying abilities, that is, as a teaching intended only for those of the highest abilities. Justification for this lay in the assumption that the Avataṃsaka was preached by the Buddha under the bodhi-tree for the first twenty-one days immediately following his enlightenment and that as such it embodied

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189 Yüan-chüeh ching ta-shu ch'ao, ZZ 1, 14, 3, p. 226R.

the unadulturated content of his enlightenment with no concessions whatsoever to the varying abilities of his audience. Through the "concise" *Yüan-chüeh ching* Tsung-mi hoped to make the same teaching content as the *Avataṃsaka* more accessible. Through Ho-tse Ch'an he hoped to present an alternative to what he considered the "mad Ch'an" tendencies of Hung-chou.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE TEXT AND TRANSLATION

Tsung-mi conceived the Collected Writings on the Source of Ch'an (Ch'an-yüan chu-ch'üan chi) as an extensive anthology, a hundred-fascicle compendium of Ch'an writings and sutra/sastra passages, arranged to show the levels of Ch'an. This compendium was to be a new piṭaka, an addition to the three traditional "baskets."[190] Pei Hsiu remarked upon the novelty of such a conception:

> Ch'an master Kuei-feng collected the Writings on the Source of Ch'an [Ch'an-yüan chu-ch'üan] as a Ch'an piṭaka and wrote a preface to it. Ho-tung P'ei Hsiu says: "There has never been such a thing.". . . The Preface [Tu-hsü] takes the Buddha-word to seal the various [Ch'an] realizations; it takes the basic Dharma [i.e., the sutras] to illuminate the partial words [of the Ch'an masters of the various houses]. Therefore, it enjoins and encourages deep faith. . . . Even though my father and mother with wailing gave me birth and labored [in my upbringing], my master's virtue [te] surpasses theirs.[191]

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[190]See Section 1/n.2 of the following translation.

[191]In his preface to the Ch'an Preface, T 48, pp. 398b-399a.

Today we possess only the Preface to the Collected Writings on the Source of Ch'an (Ch'an-yüan chu-ch'üan-chi tu-hsü). The Ch'an Preface, however, is a work on a much greater scale than what is ordinarily associated with a "preface." It is in fact a treatise with its own "prefaces." The Collected Writings itself may never have seen the light of day. Japanese scholars have been unable to locate any quotation from it in Chinese, Korean or Japanese Buddhist literature.[192] The most likely possibility is that the passages comprising the Collected Writings were never actually transcribed from the sources. Such a view does not contradict what we know of Tsung-mi's life. The Preface seems to have been written shortly before the Kan-lu Incident -- with the Incident, his literary output, so far as we know, ends abruptly. Perhaps, after his arrest and release, Tsung-mi decided to forego any further literary work and to devote himself once again to cultivation -- or perhaps the facilities of the monastery libraries were no longer open to him. An alternative view is possible: A written copy or copies of the Collected Writings was made, but was destroyed, along with a great number of other Buddhist texts, during the chaos in the North during the late T'ang/Five Dynasties period.

For my translation I have used the version of the

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[192] Kamata, Zengen shosenshū tojo, p. 358.

Ch'an Preface contained in Kamata Shigeo's Zengen shosenshū tojo, except in the case of the chart of awakening and delusion,[193] where the T text is substituted. Kamata used as his basic text a Korean edition of 1576 which is stored in the Tōyō Bunko in Tokyo. He considers this Korean edition to be the most faithful descendent of the Sung prototype.[194] The 1576 Korean edition contains only one preface (by P'ei Hsiu) and is divided into two fascicles. Also, it has two postscripts, one added at the time of the Sung printing (unfortunately undated) and one at the 1576 printing. The ZZ text, on the other hand, has four prefaces, including the one by P'ei Hsiu, and is divided into four fascicles.[195]

From the Sung postscript we can trace the history of the text down to the mid-tenth century. In 857 P'ei Hsiu, then a Chief Minister, had the text transcribed and gave the copy to a Lao-su of T'ai-i yen-ch'ang Monastery on Wu-tang Mountain in Chin-chou (An-k'ang hsien, Shensi). Lao-su, we are told, kept the Ch'an Preface for fifty years

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[193]Section 54 of the following translation.

[194]Kamata, Zengen shosenshū tojo, p. 370.

[195]Ui Hakuju's Japanese translation, the Zengen shosenshū tojo, uses the ZZ text.

and then, in 912, during the Later Liang, gave Ch'an master Wei-ching instruction in it and allowed him a copy. Kamata suggests that Wei-ching may be Nan-yüeh Wei-ching, a disciple of Hsüeh-feng I-tsun (822-908).[196] Wei-ching went back to Hunan. Twenty-three years later (934) Wei-ching transmitted the teaching of the text to Ch'i-hsüan, a native of Fu-chou. Ch'i-hsüan returned to Min (Fukien) and, twenty-two years later (954), in possession of the text, entered the state of Wu-yüeh on the south coast, with its capital at Hangchow, one of the centers (the other was Nanking) for the collecting, editing, and publishing of T'ang Ch'an literature. There he had copies made and disseminated the _Ch'an_ Preface.

From the second postscript we know that the Korean edition of 1576, which is based upon the Sung edition, was printed at the Kwanŭm Monastery of Songni Mountain (Ch'ungch'ŏng-do). Further details concerning all editions (Chinese, Korean, and Japanese) can be found in the Japanese translations of the _Ch'an Preface_ by Ui Hakuju and Kamata Shigeo. It is interesting to note that a great number of editions are associated with Korean monasteries, reflecting the high esteem that the _Ch'an Preface_ enjoyed in that country.[197]

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[196]Kamata, _Zengen shosenshū tojo_, p. 261.

[197]The Koryŏ Ch'an master Chinul (1158-1210) was Tsung-mi's most famous inheritor in Korea. Chinul

The "convergence of Ch'an and the teachings" embodied in the Ch'an Preface extended its influence outside Ch'an per se during Southern Sung times, when the aesthetician Yen Yü (1180-1235) propounded the "convergence of poetry and Ch'an." In his Ts'ang-lang shih-hua, Yen Yü extends the idea that there are different levels in Ch'an to a theory of poetry. Whereas Tsung-mi made Ho-tse and Hung-chou Ch'an occupy the highest rung of his scheme, Yen Yü places the poets of the flourishing T'ang (particularly Li Po and Tu Fu) in that position. Just as Ch'an "students must follow the highest vehicle . . . and awaken to the highest meaning," students of poetry "should take the flourishing T'ang as Dharma."[198] Tsung-mi's innovation had been fitting Ch'an into a p'an-chiao. Yen Yü's was to do the same for poetry.

Three general translation principles[199] have been

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propounded the "convergence of Ch'an and the teachings." He did not, however, share Tsung-mi's upholding of Ho-tse orthodoxy (Chinul's revised version of the Ch'an Chart omits the histories of the lineages, the chart, and the criticism of Hung-chou), since, in Chinul's time, all Ch'an in Koryŏ was loosely called the "Ts'ao-ch'i lineage." See Ui Hakuju, Zenshū shi kenkyū, V. 3 (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1943), pp. 477-510. Several of Chinul's works are included in T (T nos. 2019A and B, and 2020).

[198]Kuo Shao-yü, Ts'ang-lang shih-hua chiao-shih (Peking: Jen-min wen-hsüeh ch'u-pan she, 1962), pp. 10 and 25. Compare this with Section 4 of the following translation.

[199]For a discussion of these principles and general remarks on translating Buddhist texts, see Alex Wayman, "Observations on Translation from the Classical Tibetan Language into European Languages," Indo-Iranian Journal, V.14, No. 3/4 (1972), pp. 161-92.

observed: 1. literal translation; 2. consistency in rendering certain important terms; and 3. translation of some key terms and transliteration of others. The first means that, where English words have no correspondences in the Chinese text, they have been placed within brackets. This bracketed material should not be confused with the material within parentheses -- the latter is Tsung-mi's autocommentary, which in the Chinese appears in small characters. In most cases where I still cannot understand a line, I have supplied a note marking the translation as tentative. The second principle is particularly important in translating a doctrinal text full of technical terms. Admittedly, in many cases my English word choice could be improved. It is obvious that sooner or later scholars must compile an English lexicon of Buddhism.[200] _Ālaya-vijñāna_ is a good example of a case in which I have chosen transliteration over translation. Such a procedure has a precedent in the work of the Chinese translators.

The _Ch'an Preface_ extensively quotes and paraphrases two types of Buddhist literature in China: 1. the sutras.

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[200]See David Seyfort Ruegg, "A Propos of a Recent Contribution to Tibetan and Buddhist Studies," _Journal of the American Oriental Society_, V. 82, No. 3 (July-September, 1962), p. 329.

and sastras originally translated from Sanskrit, which contain a large number of more or less standardized Sanskrit-Chinese equivalences (Different Chinese translators often used different renderings -- no such dictionary as Mahāvyutpatti was compiled in China during the peak ages of translating work to insure "absolute" standardization,); and 2. the spoken records and histories of the Ch'an lineages. Titles of works originally translated from Sanskrit into Chinese are usually given in Sanskrit. Thus, when the title of a sutra or a sastra attributed to an Indian author appears in Chinese, it is implied that the work is generally considered to be a Chinese composition. Sanskrit words which occur in Webster's Third New International Dictionary have been considered as anglicized.

The framework of fifty-eight sections does not occur in the Chinese texts. I have taken this over from Kamata's Japanese translation as an aid to the reader. (Actually, Kamata's work is not a translation into modern Japanese, but a rearrangement of the Chinese characters into Japanese syntax with the addition of Japanese particles and inflected endings.) I have omitted all prefaces and postscripts, since whatever valuable information they contain has been summarized in this chapter. Lastly, I have left the chart of awakening and delusion untranslated. In most cases the passages beneath the circles of the chart have already appeared in earlier sections.

PREFACE TO THE COLLECTED WRITINGS ON THE SOURCE OF CH'AN [CH'AN-YÜAN CHU-CH'ÜAN-CHI TU-HSÜ]

CHAPTER ONE

ALSO ENTITLED COLLECTED WRITINGS ON THE PRINCIPLE AND PRACTICE OF DHYANA [CH'AN-NA LI-HSING CHU-CH'ÜAN-CHI]

BY SRAMANA TSUNG-MI OF TS'AO-T'ANG MONASTERY IN THE CHUNG-NAN MOUNTAINS[1]

1.

The Collected Writings on the Source of Ch'an records the sayings and verses which the various [Ch'an] houses have written down. These illustrate the basic Principles of the Ch'an gate. Assembled into one basket [*piṭaka*],[2] they will be of use to later generations. This is the reason for these titles. "Dhyana" is a Sanskrit term. The full form of the Chinese transliteration is "*ch'an-na*." "Dhyana" is translated into Chinese as "*ssu-wei hsiu*" ["thinking practice"] or "*ching-lü*" ["quieting thoughts"].

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[1]These mountains, also known as the Nan-shan, were about seventy kilometers southwest of the capital Ch'ang-an.

[2]In the period immediately following the death of the Buddha, there was only the Dharma (i.e., the sutras) and the vinaya. Eventually, a new body of literature grew up, the sastras (i.e., the *abhidharma*), containing elucidations of the Dharma by church doctors. Thus came about the traditional division into three baskets (*tripiṭaka*).

Both refer to samadhi and prajna. The "Source" is the Original-awakening or True-nature of all sentient-beings. It is also called the "Buddha-nature" or "mind-ground." To awaken to it is called prajna; to practice it is called samadhi. Samadhi and prajna together are referred to as "Ch'an." Because this Nature is the original Source of Ch'an, I have used the phrase "Source of Ch'an." I have used the words "Principle and Practice"[3] [in my subtitle] "The Principle and Practice of Dhyana" because this original Source is the Principle of Ch'an and forgetting feelings and aligning with this Source is the practice of Ch'an. However, the writings of the various houses which are herein collected, speak mostly of the Principle of Ch'an, while saying little of the practice of Ch'an. This is the reason I have used the words "Source of Ch'an" as my [primary] title.

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[3]These two terms probably derive from Bodhidharma's _Erh-ju ssu-hsing lun_ which states: "Now, in entering the Way there are many paths, but, to summarize them, they do not go beyond two types. The first is entrance by Principle [_li-ju_] and the second is entrance by practice [_hsing-ju_]." A discussion of these two follows. See Yanagida Seizan, _Daruma no goroku_, Zen no goroku, 1 (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō, 1969), pp. 31-47.

2.

Today, there are those who merely see that the True-nature is Ch'an.[1] Such people do not comprehend the purport of Principle and practice. They misunderstand both the Chinese and Sanskrit terms. However, it is not that a Ch'an entity exists separately from the True-nature. It is merely that, when a sentient-being loses the real and embraces dust,[2] we say he is in a state of distraction, and, when he renounces dust and fuses with the real, we say he is in a state of dhyana. If I were to speak directly of the Original-nature,[3] I would say that it is neither real nor unreal, that neither renouncing nor fusing exists, that neither samadhi nor distraction exists. [Were I to do this,] who would speak about Ch'an?[4] This True-nature is not merely the Source of the Ch'an gate, but the Source of all dharmas as well, and thus it is called the dharma-nature. Because

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[1]Probably, Tsung-mi means the Hung-chou house.

[2]The translator Paramārtha often rendered "viṣaya" as "ch'en" ("dust"). Hsüan-tsang used "ching." Tsung-mi sometimes uses one, sometimes the other, and sometimes even combines them. The six viṣaya-s ("ranges," "spheres," or "objects") are the six external āyatana-s: form; sound; odor; taste; touchables; and dharmas (objects of manas). These correspond to the six internal āyatana-s or organs of sense (indriya).

[3]To speak directly of the Original-nature is to speak from the standpoint of absolute truth (paramārthena).

[4]From this standpoint, there is no speaker, no listener, etc.

it is the Source of both delusion and awakening in sentient-beings, we also call it the tathagatagarbha or ālaya-vijñāna (from the Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra). Because it is the Source of all the attributes of the various Buddhas, it is also called the Buddha-nature (the Nirvāṇa-sūtra and others). It is the Source of all the practices of the bodhisattvas, and, for this reason, it is called the mind-ground. (In the Hsin-ti fa-men p'in the Fan-wang ching says: "This is the original Source of all the Buddhas, the original Source of the bodhisattva path, the original Source of the great assemblage of Buddha-sons."[5]) The myriad practices are no more than six paramitas,[6] while the Ch'an gate is merely one of these six, namely, the fifth. How can these people view the True-nature as just the paramita of dhyana?

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[5]This is a paraphrase of the Fan-wang ching, T 24, p. 1003c.

[6]The six paramitas are: giving; morality; forbearance; striving; dhyana("meditation" or "trance"); and prajna ("knowledge" or "insight").

3.

The one paramita of dhyana is most divine and wonderful. It has the power to raise the no-outflows knowledge [anāsrava-jñāna][1] from the Nature. All the wonderful activities and practices and attributes of a Buddha, even to the supernatural knowledges [abhijñā][2] and rays of light, derive from dhyana. For this reason, those students studying [one of] the three vehicles[3] who wish to seek the noble path, must practice dhyana. Apart from dhyana there is no gate to this path. Without dhyana there is no road at all. Even those who simply seek rebirth into the Pure land by thinking

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[1]The "outflows" are the evil influences which attach one to samsara. "Knowledge of the destruction of the outflows" is the sixth supernatural knowledge (abhijñā). Getting rid of the outflows is arhatship. There are four: desire; existence; ignorance; and views. Some lists omit the fourth.

[2]A bodhisattva acquires the five or six supernatural knowledges during his career: the divine organ of sight (can see anything anywhere); the divine organ of hearing (can hear anything anywhere); knowledge of the thoughts of others; remembrance of his own previous existences and those of others; the power to work wonders, one of the most famous of which is flying through the air; and, sometimes, the knowledge of the destruction of the outflows. The first five are mundane, while the sixth is supramundane (i.e., possessed only by the arhat or bodhisattva).

[3]The sravakas ("hearers") are disciples who hear the teaching from a Buddha. A pratyeka-buddha ("private or solitary Buddha") is one who has attained enlightenment but lives in solitude and does not reveal his knowledge to the world. The bodhisattva is a Buddha-to-be.

of the Buddha, must practice the sixteen dhyanas, the buddha-smṛti-samādhi and the pratyutpanna-samādhi.[4]

[4]The sixteen dhyanas are meditation on the setting sun, meditation on water, etc. The buddha-smṛti-samādhi ("samadhi of Buddha-mindfulness") is of two types: a visual meditation on Amitābha's form and an oral meditation utilizing repetition of Amitābha's name. In the pratyutpanna-samādhi ("samadhi of the engendered") all of the Buddhas are produced or engendered before the practitioner.

4.

The True-nature is neither defiled nor pure, neither common nor noble. Within dhyana, however, there are different grades, ranging from the shallow to the deep. To hold heterodox views and practice because one joyfully anticipates rebirth in heaven and is weary of the present world, is heterodox dhyana. To believe correctly in cause and effect and likewise and practice because one joyfully anticipates rebirth in heaven and is weary of the present world, is common-man dhyana. To awaken to the incomplete truth of emptiness of self and then practice, is Hinayana dhyana.[1] To awaken to the true principle of the dual emptiness of self and dharmas and then practice, is Mahayana dhyana.[2] (The above four types all have the differences between the four form [stages] and the four empty [stages].[3] If one's practice is based on having

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[1]This type of dhyana was transmitted to China by the Parthian An Shih-kao during the Later Han. His date of arrival is usually given as A.D. 148.

[2]This type of dhyana, also called "bodhisattva dhyana," was practiced within the T'ien-t'ai and San-lun lineages.

[3]These are stages (<u>āyatana</u>) of dhyana leading up through the formless realm.

all-at-once awakened [to the realization that] self-mind is ab-aeterno pure, that the depravities[4] have never existed, that the nature of the without-outflows knowledge is ab-aeterno complete, that this mind is Buddha, that they are ultimately identical, then it is dhyana of the highest vehicle. This type is also known by such names as Tathagata-pure dhyana, the one-mark samadhi [ekākāra-samādhi],[5]

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[4]Kumārajīva, Paramārtha, and Hsüan-tsang sometimes rendered kleśa ("depravity") as huo ("delusion") and sometimes as fan-nao ("vexation"). Tsung-mi uses both renderings. According to Franklin Edgerton, Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary, V. 2 (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1970), p. 198, the word is extremely common, but usually vague and undefined. The Ta chih-tu lun says: "Kleśa, karma, and dharmas one after the other arise in a continuum. This is called the twelve-fold origination by dependence. Within this ignorance, desire, and appropriation are called 'kleśa.' Samskaras and becoming are called 'karma.' The other seven are called 'embodiment.'" (T 25, p. 100b).

[5]Concerning this samadhi, the Wen-shu-shih-li so-shuo mo-ho pan-jo po-lo-mi ching (a translation of the Sapta-śatikā-prajñā-pāramitā done by Mandra in 503) says: "Mañjuśrī says: 'World-honored One! What is the i-hsing san-mei?' The Buddha says: 'The dharma-dhātu is one mark [i-hsiang]. To take the dharma-dhātu as the object is called the i-hsing san-mei.'" (T 8, p. 731a) This samadhi is also discussed in the seventh assembly of the Ta pan-jo po-lo-mi-to ching (Hsüan-tsang's translation of the Śata-sāhasrikā/T 7, p. 972a-c) and in the Ch'i-hsin lun (T 32, p. 582a-b). The term "i-hsing" is somewhat confusing -- hsing does not render "caryā" but ākāra." Both Paramārtha and Hsüan-tsang used "hsing-hsiang" to render "ākāra." Here the "hsiang" has been dropped to make a four-character phrase. The one-mark samadhi is frequently mentioned in Ch'an works. In his P'u-t'i-ta-mo nan-tsung ting shih-fei lun Shen-hui says: "This no-mindfulness is prajna-paramita. Prajna-paramita is the one-mark samadhi." (Hu Shih, Shen-hui ho-shang i-chi, p. 308) See Kobayashi Enshō, "Ichigyō zammai shikō," Zengaku kenkyu, No. 51 (February, 1961), pp. 176-86.

and the tathata samadhi.[6] It is the root of all samadhis. If one can practice it from moment to moment, he will naturally and gradually obtain the myriad samadhis. This is precisely the dhyana which has been transmitted down from Bodhidharma. Before Bodhidharma arrived, all of the scholars from early times had understood only the four dhyanas and eight samadhis.[7] Various illustrious monks had effectively practiced them and they had all obtained results. Nan-yüeh [Hui-ssu][8] and T'ien-t'ai [Chih-i][9] relied upon the principle of the three truths[10] and practiced the three tranquilizations [śamatha] and three

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[6]Tathata (literally, "in-that-way-ness" or "thus-ness") means true essence, actuality, truth.

[7]The four dhyanas are the four dhyanas of the realm of form. The eight samadhis (=eight samāpatti-s) are the former four plus the four formless samādhis of the formless realm.

[8]Hui-ssu (515-77) was the second patriarch in the T'ien-t'ai lineage.

[9]Chih-i (538-92), the third patriarch in the T'ien-t'ai lineage, was responsible for the creation of the main center of T'ien-t'ai studies on Mt. T'ien-t'ai in Chekiang.

[10]The three truths are the foundation of T'ien-t'ai studies. The first two, the emptiness truth (k'ung-ti) and the provisional truth (chia-ti) correspond to the two truths of the Prajñā-pāramitā and Madhyamaka. The lack of contradiction between these two is called the middle truth (chung-ti). The three truths are identical (chi-k'ung chi-chia chi-chung).

insights [vipaśyanā].[11] Although the principles[12] of their teaching are most perfect, their entrance gate is step-by-step. It also involves the type of dhyana practices mentioned above. It is only in the transmission from Bodhidharma that the practitioner all-at-once identifies with the Buddha-substance -- it is far different from the other gates.

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[11]These terms refer to T'ien-t'ai meditative practice which is based on the three truths.

[12]I have rendered i (frequently used by Kumārajīva, Paramārtha, and Hsüan-tsāng to render artha) by "principle" (a doctrine or assumption); "meaning"; and "aspect."

5.

Therefore, for those who practice in the [Bodhidharma] lineage,[1] it is difficult to obtain its purport. If they obtain it, they become noble ones and quickly realize awakening. If they miss it, then they become common-men, slipping quickly into muddy water and raging fire.[2] The early patriarchs reined in those who were still in the dark and excluded those who missed it, and so it was handed down from one man to another. But, in a later generation,

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[1]I have rendered tsung by "lineage" (a school tracing descent from a common ancestor who is regarded as its founder) and "realization." Justification for the second is found in a verse in Guṇabhadra's translation of the Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra, T 16, p. 499c: "Tsung and discourses, [awakening] by one's own self and the teachings -- if one correctly distinguishes them, he will not fall into the various thoughts." In Nanjō Bunyū, ed., Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra (Kyoto: Otani University Press, 1923), p. 149, we find the corresponding Sanskrit verse: siddhāntaś ca nayaś cāpi pratyātma śāsanaṃ ca vai/ye paśyanti vibhāgajñā na te tarkavaśaṃ gataḥ //("Siddhānta and principle and also personal realization and instruction -- those who see the distinction [between them] do not come under the sway of deduction."). Daisetz Teitaro Suzuki, trans., The Lankavatara Sutra (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd, 1966), p. 128, translates the verse as follows: "Realization and teaching, self-attainment and doctrinal instruction -- those who have an insight into the difference will not be led away by philosophical authorities." Thus, we see that siddhānta (which Guṇabhadra renders by tsung) is synonymous with pratyātma ("personal realization"), a word which is especially common in the Laṅkāvatāra. This and similar passages in the Laṅkāvatāra, I believe, are the basis of Tsung-mi's distinction between Ch'an "realizations" (tsung) and the "teachings" (chiao).

[2]Such unusual calamities as flood and fire illustrate impermanence.

the Liu-tsu t'an-ching was composed.[3] [Because this sutra rejected possession of Bodhidharma's robe as proof of the orthodox transmission,] there came about a thousand lamps and a thousand illuminations.[4] Eventually the Dharma was bastardized and mistaken people became numerous. This is why there is widespread doubts and criticism of Ch'an on the part of sutra and sastra scholars.

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[3] Here I follow Kamata Shigeo's interpretation.

[4] For six generations, from Bodhidharma to Hui-neng, Bodhidharma's robe was handed down from patriarch to patriarch as a symbol of the transmission of the Dharma. However, in the Liu-tsu t'an-ching, Hui-neng orders his disciples to cease the transmission of the robe (section 49 of the Tun-huang version). He states that there will be no further need to hand down the robe if they rely on the verse of the first patriarch Bodhidharma. Tsung-mi is saying that, because the robe was no longer handed down, a bewildering variety ("thousands") of Ch'an transmissions took place.

6.

Originally, the Buddha spoke both the all-at-once teaching and the step-by-step teaching,[1] while Ch'an opens both the all-at-once gate and the step-by-step gate.[2] The two teachings and the two gates fit together. At present, exegetes in a biased manner display the step-by-step principles and Ch'anists in a biased manner encourage the all-at-once realization. When a Ch'anist and an exegete meet, the distance between them is that between a northern and a southern barbarian. I, Tsung-mi, do not know what they have done in past births to perfume [with such vāsanā[3]] as to obtain this mind. Having not yet liberated themselves, they desire to release the bonds of others. For the sake of the Dharma, they disregard their own health. Pitying others, they cut off their own

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[1]These two terms began to be used in China during the Period of the Northern and Southern Dynasties (420-589). They are found in most of the p'an-chiao systems put forth by Chinese exegetes.

[2]These refer to northern and southern Ch'an.

[3]The Ch'eng wei-shih lun defines "vāsanā" (which Hsüan-tsang here renders by hsi-ch'i/"habit-breath" or "habit-force") as follows: "Even though as soon as this [karma] arises, without interval, it extinguishes, and it cannot bring forth its maturation-result at that very time, nevertheless, it perfumes the root perception [i.e., the ālaya-vijñana] with the power to produce itself. This power is called 'vāsanā.'" (T 31, p. 43a)

spiritual cultivation. (It is known that the Vimalakīrti says: "No one who is himself in bondage can release the bonds of others."[4] Thus, if they desire to stop what they are doing but cannot do so, it must be because vāsanā from the past is difficult to change.) I always lament discrepancies between men and the Dharma, when the Dharma becomes a disease for men. Therefore, I have selected passages from the sutras, the vinaya, the sastras, and the commentaries, and have opened widely the gates of śīla, samadhi, and prajna. I will show that all-at-once awakening benefits from step-by-step practice and will prove that what the masters say coincides with the Buddha's mind. Even though the Buddha's mind is manifest throughout [the entire canon], the texts are extensive and difficult to examine. Though careless scholars are numerous, determined ones are rare. Passing through names and marks,[5] who can distinguish gold from brass? Followers weary of the labor before they find that to which their abilities respond. Even though the Buddha said that increasing compassion

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[4]The Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa, T 14, p. 545b.

[5]The Ch'eng wei-shih lun defines marks as follows: "The various self marks are "sentient-being," "soul," "stream-enterer," "once-returner," etc. The various dharma marks are "tattva," "attribute," "karma," "aggregate," "āyatana," "dhātu," etc....These marks are all provisional designations which are based on perception-transformation." (T 31, p. 1a)

is practice,[6] I worried that my progress was being blocked by desiring views, and I set aside the multitude to enter the mountains. There I practiced making samadhi equal to prajna. My earlier and later sojourns of practicing cutting off thoughts total ten years.[7] (By "earlier and later sojourns" I refer to the fact that, during [my stay in the mountains], I was summoned by imperial edict to the court and lived within the city for two years. I then requested permission to return to the mountains.) The rising and falling of subtle, fine vāsanā feelings are shown in dhyana and prajna. Lines of different principles of the teachings appear in the empty mind. When a ray of the sun streams through a crack, it shows the disturbance of the dust. At the bottom of serene water images are reflected clearly. How can I reconcile empty, quietistic, ignorant Ch'anists and mad prajnaists [k'uang-hui che] who immerse themselves in the texts? Because I understand my own mind and have a grasp of all the teachings, I have sincere feelings for the mind realization.[8] On the other hand, because

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[6] The bodhisattva stays within the world to practice compassion.

[7] In the first month of 821 Tsung-mi withdrew to Ts'ao-t'ang Monastery in the Chung-nan Mountains outside Ch'ang-an. He lived there until 832, with the exception of the two-year interval from 828-29, when he served at the court of Emperor Wen-tsung (r.827-40). His earlier stay thus lasted seven years and the later one three years.

[8] This is another name for Ch'an as a whole.

I am versed in all the teachings and understand how to cultivate mind, I have the same feelings for the principles of the teachings.

7.

The teachings are the various sutras and sastras left behind by the Buddhas and bodhisattvas respectively. Ch'an consists of the sayings and verses of the various good-friends [kalyāṇa-mitra]. The sutras of the Buddha open outward, catching the thousands of the eight classes,[1] while Ch'an verse gathers up the essence, being oriented to a type of ability found in this land. [The teachings], which catch all the classes, are broad and hence difficult to rely upon. [Ch'an,] which is oriented to [Chinese] abilities, points to the bullseye and is easy to use. Herein lies my intention in making the present compilation.

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[1]The eight classes are: gods; serpent-demons; yaksas; gandharva-s; asuras; birds with golden wings; musicians with the body of a man and the head of a horse; and demons who are shaped like snakes.

8.

Question: You said [that Ch'an verse] gathers up the essence. Although the texts are simple and concise, the principles must be comprehensive and complete. It is axiomatic that the texts should gather up many principles within a small space. The sutras, which record the word of the Buddha, all include [such words as] Dharma (Dharma-substance), principles (axioms), causes (the three worthies,[1] the ten stages,[2] the thirty-seven parts [of the Path,][3] and the ten paramitas[4]), effects (the attributes and

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[1]These are the ten abodes, the ten [degrees of] conduct, and the ten diversions. For details, see Leon Hurvitz, Chih-I: An Introduction to the Life and Ideas of a Chinese Buddhist Monk, Mélanges chinois et bouddhiques, V. 12 (Bruxelles: l'Institut Belge des Hautes Études Chinoises, 1962), pp. 363-66.

[2]The ten stages are: 1. the joyous; 2. the free-from-defilement; 3. the illumining; 4. the flaming-wisdom; 5. the impossible-to-conquer; 6. the become-manifest; 7. the far-going; 8. the immovable; 9. the good wisdom; and 10. the Dharma-cloud. For details, see Har Dayal, The Bodhisattva Doctrine in Buddhist Sanskrit Literature (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1970), pp. 283-91.

[3]These are the thirty-seven practices and principles conducive to the attainment of enlighten ent: the four stations of mindfulness; the four right exertions; the four bases of magical power; the five faculties; the five powers, the seven limbs of enlightenment; and the noble eightfold path. For details, see Har Dayal, The Bodhisattva Doctrine in Buddhist Sanskrit Literature, pp. 80-164.

[4]Four paramitas were added to the six in order to fit with the ten stages. The additional four are: skillful means (upaya); vow (pranidhana); power (bala); and knowledge (jñana). The bodhisattva emphasizes one paramita in each stage. For details, see Har Dayal, The Bodhisattva Doctrine in Buddhist Sanskrit Literature, pp. 248-69.

activities of a Buddha), belief (belief in the Dharma), understanding (understanding the principles), practice (passage through the stages cultivating causes), and realization (realizing the effect). Even though the times of the various sutras are each different and even though the modes of discourse [of the Buddha in each of them] is different, the teachings which they set up all possess these [words]. Thus, in every assembly and every stage of the Avataṃsaka the worlds of the ten directions are spoken of in this terminology.[5] When I now browse through the collected Ch'an writings of the various houses, [I find that] most of them are cast in the form of question-and-answer dialogues [between master and disciple]. Some questions stand and some are refuted, but there is no order to it. I see no beginning and no end. How can you say that it gathers up the essence of the Buddha's teaching? Answer: The Buddha's appearing in the world and setting up the teaching and the masters' crossing people over according to the place differ in the manner of substance and manifestation. The teaching of the Buddha is a support for ten-thousand generations. It is axiomatic that it

[5] "Every assembly" refers to the fact that the T'ang Avataṃsaka is divided into nine assemblies (the Eastern Chin Avataṃsaka has eight). Because the second, seventh, and eighth assemblies were at the same place, the term "seven places" is also used. "Every stage" refers to the forty-one stages of the bodhisattva in the sutra.

must be comprehensive. The instructions of the masters liberate the people of the present time. Their intention is to enable people to realize the dark penetration. But the dark penetration necessarily involves forgetting words. When words leave behind no traces and traces are cut off in the mind-ground and principle manifests itself at the mind-source, belief, understanding, practice, and realization are not carried out, and yet they are spontaneously completed. The sutras, vinaya, sastras, and commentaries are not studied, and yet they are spontaneously penetrated. Thus, if someone asks about cultivating the Path, [Ch'anists] respond: "No cultivation." If someone asks about seeking liberation, they answer with the question: "Who is bound?" If someone asks about the path to becoming a Buddha, they say: "You never have been a common man." If someone asks about pacifying mind on the verge of death, they reply: "There has never been anything to do [pen-lai wu-shih]." Some even say: "This is unreal. This is real. Meditate in this way. Stop karma in this way." Essentially speaking, these [Ch'an sayings] are merely things in accordance with the present time. They are in response to the abilities of present-day people. How could there be a really [existent] dharma called unexcelled, perfect enlightenment [annutara-samyak-saṃbodhi]? How could there be a really [existent] practice called mahāprajñā? To merely obtain [that wherein] the feelings

have no-mindfulness,[6] mind has no activity, nothing arises in the mind, and wisdom has no place to dwell, is to really believe, really understand, really practice, and really realize. If a seeker of the Buddha Path merely grasps at the terms in the teachings without understanding his own mind, then he will know the characters and read the sutras, but never awaken. He will wear down the texts in explaining their principles, but kindle only lust, hatred, and false views. Ānanda heard everything the Buddha said and memorized it, but he grew old without becoming an arhat.[7] If one stops causes and returns to illumination, after a short time, he will realize no-arising. Then he will know that there is a reason for each of the vehicles and each of the approaches to crossing people over. Such a person will never again place the blame on the written characters themselves.

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[6]"No-mindfulness is the realization" (wu-nien wei tsung) was virtually the slogan of the Ho-tse house. The term wu-nien is found in the Chin-kang san-mei ching (T9, p.369a) and in the Ch'i-hsin lun (T32, p.576b).

[7]Ānanda was a well-known disciple of the Buddha and a Śākyan. He was called "servant" of the Buddha. Being the only major disciple who had not become an arhat, Mahākāśyapa rebuked him and would not allow him to attend the First Council. During the night Ānanda achieved knowledge of the destruction of the outflows and hence was admitted to the council. He proceeded to recite the discourses of the Buddha from memory.

9.

Question: Since the important thing is to get the idea and not to value specialization in the texts, what is the need for you to compile all these [Ch'an] sayings and verses? Answer: This compilation serves two purposes: 1. There are those who have not fully awakened, in spite of the fact that they have been studying under a master, and also, those who are conducting an earnest search, but have not yet met a good-friend. By enabling them to browse through this compilation, they will have before them the ideas of all the masters' words, and they will use these to penetrate their own minds and cut off any remaining thoughts. 2. There are those who are already awakened, but who desire to go on and become masters themselves. [This compilation] will enable them to broaden their learning and increase their skill in expedients through embracing sentient-beings and instructing them in questions and answers. Above I said that [the teachings], which catch the thousand worlds, are broad and hence difficult to rely upon, while [Ch'an], which is oriented to one place [i.e., China], points to the bullseye and is easy to use. This [is my answer to your question]. However, [this compilation is not meant] solely as an aid to the gate of forgetting words.[1] [I intend within its pages] to hand

[1]This refers to Ch'an. The teachings are the expression of the Buddha word, while Ch'an is the expression of his mind or idea.

down the benefits of the teachings along with Ch'an. I desire not only to make the idea tally with the Buddha, but also to make the words coincide with the sutras. Since the [Ch'an] writings seem to contradict each other, it is impossible to consider all of them the real teaching. I must divide the Hinayana and Mahayana of the one store of sutras into those of provisional Principle and those of the real Principle, [that is,] into those of explicit meaning [nītārtha] and those of non-explicit meaning.[2] Once this is done, I can critically evaluate the Ch'an gates of the various realizations. Each of them has a purport. None of them is in conflict with the Buddha's idea. I mean by this that the sutras and sastras of the canon consist of three types[3] and the spoken teachings of the Ch'an gates consist of three realizations.[4] (Each is explained separately in the following text.) [When the Ch'an and textual teachings] are matched up, they become the perfect view.

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[2]"Explicit meaning" is the teaching of clear, definite, well-established meaning and "non-explicit meaning" (anītārtha=neyārtha) is the teaching having a meaning that is not clearly established, that has to be determined by inference or the like.

[3]See Section 21.

[4]See Section 21.

10.

Question: How is the present collection of Ch'an writings connected to the sutras and sastras? Answer: There are ten connections. You must first know which sutras and sastras are provisional and which real, then you will understand the relative gradations of the Ch'an [realizations]. Furthermore, you must first know the Nature and the marks among the Ch'an minds, then you will understand the Principle and the phenomena within the sutras and sastras. 1. There are two sorts of masters, the root [Śākyamuni] and the branches [the bodhisattvas]; we rely on the root to seal the branches. 2. Ch'an has various lineages which conflict with one another. 3. The sutras are like an inked marking-string,[1] serving as a standard to determine the false and the correct. 4. Some sutras express the implicit meaning of the teaching and some the explicit meaning; we must rely upon the explicit meaning. 5. There are three "sources of knowledge" and they must coincide. 6. There are various sorts of doubts, and they must all be resolved. 7. Dharma and the principles [of the teachings] are not the same and one must be good at distinguishing [what is Dharma and what is a principle.] 8. [The term] "mind" penetrates both the

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[1]This was a tool used by carpenters to make measurements.

Nature and the marks; [the term for] "mind" is always the same but its meaning varies. 9. The various sayings having to do with all-at-once and step-by-step awakening and practice seem to be contradictory. 10. Masters instruct through expedients and they must know [what] medicine [should be used in the case of each and every] disease.

11.

1. To say that there are two sorts of masters, the root and the branches, means that the first patriarch of all the lineages is Śākyamuni. The sutras are the Buddha word, while Ch'an is the Buddha mind. What the Buddhas have said and what was in their minds cannot possibly be contradictory. The lines of descent of all the patriarchs go directly back to the disciples of the Buddha. The bodhisattvas composed the sastras. In all cases, these merely extended the sutras of the Buddha. Certainly, in the [Ch'an] transmission from Mahākāśyapa[1] through Upagupta,[2] all were equally versed in all three baskets. However, after Dhṛtaka,[3] disputes arose among the monks and henceforth the vinaya and the teachings were practiced separately. Further, because of the trouble with the king of Kashmir, the sutras and sastras [began to

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[1]He was one of the Buddha's leading disciples. He convened the First Council and presided. All Ch'an sources agree in calling him the first patriarch of Ch'an.

[2]A monk of the Sarvāstivāda school who lived two-hundred years after the Buddha's nirvana during the time of King Aśoka. The Pao-lin chuan considers Ānanda, Śaṇavāsa, and Upagupta as the second, third, and fourth patriarchs of Ch'an.

[3]The Pao-lin chuan considers him the fifth patriarch of Ch'an.

to be] propagated separately.[4] In the meantime [between Dhṛtaka and Siṃha bhikṣu] Aśvaghoṣa[5] and Nāgārjuna[6] were both [Ch'an] patriarchs. They wrote sastras and commentaries on the sutras in ten-thousands of verses. Meditation and conversion of beings [i.e., propagation of the teachings] did not have definite [separate] rules. Exegetes did not yet deprecate Ch'an, nor did Ch'anists look down on exegesis. Bodhidharma received Dharma in India and personally brought it to China.[7] He saw that

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[4]The Fu-fa tsang yin-yüan chuan (T 50, p. 321c) records the following story. There was a monk Siṃha in Kashmir who had done a great deal in furthering Buddhism. The king of Kashmir at that time was a heretic who destroyed monasteries and killed monks. When he beheaded Siṃha with a sharp sward, milk flowed out instead of blood. The Fu-fa tsang chuan lists Siṃha bhikṣu as the twenty-third and final patriarch of Ch'an -- with him the lineage was cut off. It is not clear how this incident fits in with Tsung-mi's narrative.

[5]One Aśvaghoṣa was a great Buddhist poet and playwright who lived about the first century A.D. A great deal of uncertainty surrounds the Aśvaghoṣa who was considered in China to be the Indian compiler of the Ch'i-hsin lun (for which no Sanskrit original is extant). If, in fact, an Aśvaghoṣa did compile the Ch'i-hsin lun, he probably lived during the fifth or possibly early sixth centuries. However, Chinese authorship is more probable. See Yoshito Hakeda, The Awakening of Faith (New York: Columbia University Press, 1967), pp. 3-11. The Pao-lin chuan considers "Aśvaghoṣa" the twelfth patriarch of Ch'an.

[6]Nāgārjuna (c.A.D. 150-250) is known as the founder of the Madhyamaka school. His most famous work is the Madhyamaka-kārikā-s in which he refutes the views of Hinayanists and non-Buddhists. The Pao-lin chuan considers him the fourteenth patriarch of Ch'an.

[7]Bodhidharma was a dhyana master from southern India who arrived in Canton by ship about 470. After a short stay, he travelled northward to the vicinity of the eastern capital Loyang, where he remained until about 520.

most of the scholars of this land had not yet obtained Dharma, that their understanding was based merely on names and numbers,[8] and that their [dhyana] practice was concerned only with marks. Because his desire was to inform them that the moon does not lie in the finger [which points at the moon] and that Dharma is our mind, he simply "took mind to transmit mind, without setting up written characters."[9] This saying exists in order to reveal his realization and destroy grasping. This is not a case of speaking of a liberation which has nothing to do with written characters. This explains why those who gave instruction in obtaining [Bodhidharma's] idea incessantly praised the Laṅkāvatāra and the Vajracchedikā,[10] saying that these two sutras were the essence of our mind. At present, disciplies everywhere entertain mistaken notions about the origin [of this saying]. Those who cultivate mind consider the sutras and sastras as a separate realization, while those who explain [texts] view the Ch'an gate as a

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[8]In the early period of Buddhism in China, dhyana practice was based on Hinayanist sutras.

[9]This saying occurs in the Hsüeh-mo lun attributed to Bodhidharma (T 48, p. 373b). Actually, it was probably compiled in the early ninth century.

[10]The early Ch'an school was closely connected to the Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra. The Leng-chia shih-tzu chi (T 85, p. 1248c) states that Bodhidharma transmitted this sutra to his heir, Hui-k'o. The Vajracchedikā-sūtra is particularly associated with Hui-neng (see sections 2,9, 28, and 31 of the Liu-tsu t'an-ching) and Shen-hui (see, for instance, Hu Shih, Shen-hui ho-shang i-chi, pp. 181-86).

separate Dharma. [These days], when people hear someone speak of cause and effect, practice and realization, they immediately conclude [that the speaker] is a sutra/sastra scholar, without realizing that it is precisely practice and realization which are the basic events of the Ch'an gate. If they hear someone say that mind is Buddha [chi-hsin chi-fo], they immediately conclude [that the speaker] is a subjective Ch'anist, without realizing that it is precisely the mind and the Buddha which are the basic ideas of the sutras and sastras. (There are some people who make the following objection: How can a Ch'an master explain [the sutras and sastras]? I have now answered this.) If at the present juncture we do not correlate the provisional and real among the sutras and sastras with the relative gradations of Ch'an realizations, how can we illuminate our minds with the teachings or understand the teachings with our minds?

12.

2. [I said earlier that] Ch'an has various lineages which conflict with one another. In fact, the writings collected herein are like the "one-hundred schools."[1] However, differences in the principles of realization involve only ten houses. They are Kiangsi,[2] Ho-tse,[3] [Shen]-hsiu in the north,[4] [Chih]-hsien in the south,[5]

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[1]The Chuang Tzu refers to the various contending schools of thought which had arisen from 551 B.C. to c. 300 B.C. as the "hundred schools": "As to those things which are in the Odes, History, Rites, and Music, many of the scholars of Tsou and Lu and many of the officials of the red sash have a knowledge of them. The Odes discusses longings. The History discusses events. The Rites discusses conduct. The Music discusses harmony. The Changes discusses yin and yang. The Spring and Autumn discusses names and duties. As to the arts which are diffused throughout all-under-Heaven and established in the central states, the hundred schools [pai-chia chih hsüeh] sometimes discussed them." (SPPY 132, 10,p. 13L)

[2]This refers to the Hung-chou or Kiangsi house, the lineage of Ma-tsu Tao-i (709-88). Tao-i became the heir of Nan-yüeh Huai-jang (677-744). He then travelled in Kiangsi and eventually settled at the K'ai-yüan Monastery in Hung-chou (Nan-ch'ang hsien, Kiangsi), where he collected a great number of disciples. Tao-i's biography can be found in Sung kao-seng chuan, T 50, p. 766a-c.

[3]This is Tsung-mi's own house, the lineage of Ho-tse Shen-hui (670-762), a disciple of Hui-neng. For information, see Chapter One of the Introduction.

[4]This is the lineage of Shen-hsiu (606?-706), a disciple of the fifth patriarch Hung-jen. In 701 or 702 Shen-hsiu was invited to court by the Empress Wu. With imperial support he was able to spread Northern Ch'an in Ch'ang-an and Loyang. His biography is in the Leng-chia shih-tzu chi, T 85, p. 1290a-c, and in the Sung kao-seng chuan, T 50, pp. 755c-756b.

[5]This is the lineage of Chih-hsien (609-702), another of

Niu-t'ou,[6] Shih-t'ou,[7] Pao-t'ang,[8] Hsüan-shih,[9] Ch'ou-Na,[10]

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the ten major disciples of the fifth patriarch Hung-jen. At one time Chih-hsien studied under the great translator Hsüan-tsang. Chih-hsien's lineage is called the Ching-chung lineage (for the Ching-chung Monastery in Ch'eng-tu, Szechuan) and is recorded in the Li-tai fa-pao chi (T no. 2075).

[6]This is the lineage of Niu-t'ou Fa-yung (or Fa-jung/594-657). Fa-yung first studied San-lun and later practiced Ch'an. His house was called Niu-t'ou ("Oxhead") for Mt. Niu-t'ou outside Chin-ling (Nanking). His biography can be found in the Hsü kao-seng chuan, T 50, pp. 603c-605b. There is some doubt whether Fa-yung actually studied under the fourth patriarch in the Bodhidharma lineage, Tao-hsin. Hu Shih was skeptical of this tradition; Ui Hakuju believed it was supported by inscriptions. See Philip B. Yampolsky, The Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch, pp. 38-39.

[7]This is the lineage of Shih-t'ou Hsi-ch'ien (700-90). After becoming the heir of Ch'ing-yüan Hsing-ssu (d. 740), Hsi-ch'ien moved to Nan-yüeh and propagated his teachings there. A brief biography of Hsing-ssu can be found in the Sung kao-seng chuan, T 50, p. 760c. Hsi-ch'ien's biography is Sung kao-seng chuan, T 50, pp. 763c-764a. Both Ch'an masters are said to have had contact with Hui-neng.

[8]This refers to the lineage of Wu-chu (714-75). After becoming the heir of Wu-hsiang (=Chin ho-shang/684-762) in 759, Wu-chu moved to the Pao-t'ang Monastery in Szechuan and established a teaching which differed somewhat from that of the Ching-chung lineage of Wu-hsiang. The biographies and teachings of these two can be found in the Li-tai fa-pao chi (T no. 2075).

[9]This is the lineage of Kuo-lang Hsüan-shih, a disciple of the fifth patriarch Hung-jen. Little is known of this house except that it was located in Szechuan and practiced a type of Buddha-invocation.

[10]The "Ch'ou" refers to Hui-ch'ou (also known as Seng-ch'ou), a disciple of Buddhabhadra (359-429), an Indian dhyana and vinaya master who arrived in China in 406. The "Na" refers to Ch'iu-na, which is itself an abbreviation of Ch'iu-na-pa-t'o-lo (=Guṇabhadra/394-468). The Leng-chia shih-tzu chi (T 85, pp. 1283c-1284c) considers Guṇabhadra

and T'ien-t'ai.[11] Although there is no disagreement among them over comprehension, in setting up lineages and transmitting Dharma, they conflict with one another. Some base themselves on emptiness,[12] while others take Knowing as the Source.[13] Some say that calm and silence are real,[14] while others say that [all ordinary activity, such as] standing, sitting, etc., is real.[15] Some say that all discrimination and activity in the course of an ordinary day is unreal,[16] while others say that all such discrimination and activity is real.[17] Some carry out all the practices, while others

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the first patriarch of Ch'an (with Bodhidharma as the second). Gunabhadra, a monk from central India, arrived in Canton by ship sometime between 425 and 453. He translated many works, including the four-fascicle version of the Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra.

[11]This is the lineage of T'ien-t'ai Chih-i (538-92) located on Mt. T'ien-t'ai in Chekiang. For a biography, see Leon Hurvitz, "Chih-I," pp. 100-82.

[12]This refers to the Oxhead house, within which San-lun influence was strong.

[13]This refers to Tsung-mi's own Ho-tse house. Throughout, I have translated chih (Mathews' no. 932) as "Knowing" and chih (Mathews' no. 933) as "knowing."

[14]This refers to Northern Ch'an.

[15]This refers to the Hung-chou house.

[16]This may refer to the teaching of Hui-an (582-709), whose extraordinary age earned him the name Lao-an. Between 627 and 649 Hui-an studied under the fifth patriarch Hung-jen. Later he was summoned to court along with Shen-hsiu by the Empress Wu. His biography can be found in the Sung-kao-seng chuan, T 50, p. 823b-c, and in the Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu, T 51, p. 231c.

[17]This is another reference to the Hung-chou house.

disregard even the Buddha. Some let the will take its own course, while others restrain their minds. Some respect the sutras and vinaya as a standard, while others consider the sutras and vinaya an obstruction to the Path. These sayings are not merely vague talk; they are concrete. [Each house] concretely spreads its lineage and concretely attacks the other types. Novices cling to these sayings and miss the idea. With their emotional viewpoints they obstinately dispute one another and do not come together.

Question: [Why can you not simply] select what is right [from these Ch'an houses] and disregard what is wrong? What is the need for these crooked [Ch'an houses] to come together? Answer: Some discuss emptiness, while others discuss existence; some discuss the Nature, while others discuss marks. But none of them is heterodox. The problem is merely that each considers itself to be a coterie in possession of what is right and criticizes the others as wrong. Each of them is firmly certain. This is the reason why they must be brought together.

Question: Since none of them is heterodox and each is firmly certain, what is the need to bring them together? Answer: The true Path leads back to oneness. The subtle principle is non-duality. There should be no duality. The true Path is not an extreme. The explicit meaning of the teaching does not lean to any one side. No one should grasp a single biased viewpoint. For this reason, I must bring

them into oneness and make them all perfect.

Question: If one mixes ice with fire, both of them will not be preserved. Likewise, if one strikes a shield with a sword, both of them cannot emerge victorious. Whenever the collected writings of the various lineages contradict each other, one is right and one is wrong. How can you bring them [into oneness] and make them all perfect? Answer: In all cases, I will preserve Dharma and get rid of the disease. All will then be perfect. In other words, to take Dharma to go to the people is difficult, but to take the people to go to Dharma is easy. Most people follow feelings into mutual grasping; grasping is mutual conflict. Indeed, this is difficult in the same sense that a mix of ice and fire or a clash of sword and shield is difficult. Dharma ab aeterno proclaims principle and is mutual penetration; penetration is mutual accord. This is easy in the same sense that frozen and running water are both of themselves water or gold rings are gold. Essentially speaking, if one considers [the Ch'an houses] individually, then they are all wrong. If one brings them together, then they are all right. I will use the Buddha word to illustrate the idea behind each of them, to select the strong points of each of them, to unify them into three realizations, and to juxtapose these to the three teachings. Without this approach, how could they be brought together into one substitute skillful means and how could they all become

the essential Dharma gate? If each [of these Ch'an houses] would forget its feelings, they would all flow back into the sea of wisdom.

13.

3. [I said earlier that] the sutras are like an inked marking-string, serving as a standard to determine the false and the correct. The inked marking-string is not the skill itself; a skillful workman must use the string as a standard. Likewise, the sutras and sastras are not Ch'an; one who transmits Ch'an must use the sutras and sastras as a standard. Those of medium and inferior abilities must rely on a master. The master sizes up [each student's] ability and instructs him accordingly. Those of high ability must be perfectly thorough in their awakening, but, if they have not yet fully probed the Buddha word, how can they be equal to the Buddha's view?

Question: Up until now, all that has existed [in the way of texts] are the sutras of the Buddha. Students turned [the scrolls], read, inquired, and understood. Now you have collected the essence of Ch'an, so what further need exists to understand the sutras? Answer: This point comes up later and will be answered at that time.

14.

4. [I said earlier that] some sutras express the implicit meaning of the teaching and some the explicit meaning and that we must rely upon the explicit meaning. This means that, among the various sutras in which the Buddha speaks, in some cases he is speaking in accordance with his own mind, and, in other cases, he is speaking in accordance with the minds of others. Some [of the sutras] proclaim the ultimate principle, while some are geared to the abilities of a particular audience. Some speak in terms of the Nature and some in terms of marks. Some are all-at-once and some are step-by-step, some Mahayana and some Hinayana, some of explicit meaning and some of non-explicit meaning. But, even though the texts sometimes contradict each other, the principles always penetrate perfectly without obstruction. The dragon treasury[1] is vast. How can one see where it is leading back to? Therefore, I have made a comprehensive selection from this [treasury] in twenty-plus pages, in order to enable [the reader] to suddenly have a perfect view of the Buddha's idea. Once he has seen the Buddha's idea, when he reads through the entire canon, he will know the type of every phrase.[2]

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[1]This refers to the tripiṭaka.

[2]The twenty-page anthology of tripiṭaka passages presumably followed the anthology of Ch'an writings in Tsung-mi's projected Collected Writings on the Source of Ch'an for which this work is a preface. Once the reader has understood the three types of teachings (see Section 21), he will be able to identify the type of any line in the entire tripiṭaka.

15.

5. [I said earlier that] there are three sources of knowledge [pramāṇa] and they must coincide. In their understanding of the principles of the Dharma, the worthies and sages of the western lands always considered the three sources of knowledge to be definitive. [They are:] 1. inference [anumāna]; 2. direct perception [pratyakṣa]; and 3. the Buddha word. "Sources of knowledge" means to weigh something in the scales to determine its definite weight. Inference means to infer from causal analogy. For instance, when one sees smoke in the distance, he knows for certain that there is a fire. Even though he does not see the fire, it is not unreal. Direct perception means that one sees [something] before one's own eyes, without relying on inference -- it is spontaneously definitive. The "Buddha word" means that the sutras are definitive. [When I said that] they must coincide, [I meant that,] if one relies only on the Buddha word and does not infer for himself, then his realization will be a thing of empty belief, bringing no benefit to him. If one takes direct perception alone to be definitive and does not inquire into the Buddha word, then how will he know whether he is false or correct? The heretics[1]

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[1]There were many communities of śramanas about the time of the Buddha. "Heretics" here refers to the six heretical teachers who were contemporaries of the Buddha: Pūraṇa Kāśyapa; Maskarin Gośālīputra; Saṃjayin Vairaṭīputra; Ajita Keśakambala; Kakuda Kātyāyana; and Nirgrantha Jñātiputra.

also directly perceived the principles to which they held, and, practicing them, they obtained results. They called themselves correct. How would we know that they were false [without the Buddha word]? If one were to rely only on inference without the noble teaching and direct perception, then on the basis of what [authority] would he infer? What dharma [perception] would he infer about? Thus, the three sources of knowledge must coincide to be definitive. Most of the Ch'an lineages have direct perception and inference. Once they have gone on to seal them with the sutras and sastras the three sources of knowledge will be complete.

16.

6. [I said earlier that] there are various sorts of doubts and they must all be resolved. During the last several decades there have been a number of great worthies of the sutras and sastras[1] who have asked me the following question: The four dhyanas and the eight samadhis[2] are all in the upper realms [i.e., the realm of form and the realm of non-form.][3] There is no dhyana in this realm [of desire]. Whoever practices dhyana must rely on the sutras and sastras. He practices in this realm in order to be drawn up into the dhyanas and samadhis of the upper realms. Anyone whose practice has reached completion, is in [one of] those dhyanas [of the upper realms]. The teachings are clear on this point. There are no exceptions to this. How can anyone speak of a Ch'an gate which is separate from this? Since [this separate Ch'an gate] does not rely on the sutras and sastras, it is a false way.

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[1]We do not know to whom Tsung-mi was referring. Shen-ch'ing of Hui-i Monastery, Tuan-fu of Ta-an kuo Monastery, and Chih-hsüan of Mt. Tan-ying were famous exegetes of the time. Biographies of all three can be found in the _Sung-kao-seng chuan_, T 50, pp. 740a-744c.

[2]See Section 4/n.7.

[3]For a discussion of the three realms (_tridhātu_), see Th. Stcherbatsky, _The Central Conception of Buddhism and the Meaning of the Word "Dharma"_ (1923; rpt. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1970), p. 10, and Leon Hurvitz, _Chih-I_, pp. 16-17. In the realm of form sense perception gradually disappears; in the realm of non-form there is only non-sensuous perception. One can gain entrance to these upper realms either through being reborn in them or through meditation.

Another question is: The sutras speak of step-by-step practice, that after limitless kalpas one realizes awakening. Ch'an proclaims all-at-once awakening, that in a moment one becomes perfectly awakened. The sutras are the Buddha word, while Ch'an is the word of monks. I am skeptical about contravening the Buddha [word] in order to honor [the word of] monks.

Another question is: The essential purport of the Ch'an gate is neither affirmation nor negation, neither enmity nor affection, neither anger nor happiness. [If this is so,] what is the reason for the hatred between the Southern [Hui-]neng and the Northern [Shen-]hsiu, which are like fire and water? What is the reason for the hostility between the Ho-tse and Hung-chou houses, which are like ts'an and shang?[4]

Another question is: For six generations[5] the Ch'an Dharma was transmitted from master to disciple. In each successive generation [the masters] said [to their disciples]: "Within, I confer upon you the secret words; without, I hand

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[4] Ts'an is the twenty-first of the twenty-eight "houses" (zodiacal constellations) and corresponds approximately to the Ptolemaic Orion. Shang (=hsin) is the fifth "house" and corresponds approximately to Scorpio. Ts'an is seen in the wintertime in the evening; shang in the summertime in the evening. Hence they are used as a simile in the case of brothers who are unfriendly (see Tso chuan, Chao, first year [SPPY 44, 15, pp. 7L-8R]) and people who never meet.

[5] The six generations are from Bodhidharma to Hui-neng.

to you the robe of faith." The robe and the Dharma were complementary, serving as a tally sanction.[6] Since Ts'ao-ch'i [Hui-neng], no one has heard of this procedure.[7] I am skeptical. In present Ch'an procedure, are the secret words spoken in converting people or not? If they are not, then that which is transmitted is not Bodhidharma's Dharma. If they are, then [those disciples] who hear them should all receive the robe.

Also, there are Ch'an worthies who ask: Bodhidharma's transmission of mind did not rely on written characters. Why do you go against the founding patriarch by explaining the sastras and transmitting the sutras?

Lately, there has been this question: Vimalakīrti shouted his disapproval of quiet-sitting [dhyana].[8] Shen-hui always attacked the practice of "congealing mind" [ning-hsin].[9] When Ts'ao-ch'i [Hui-neng] saw someone in full-lotus posture, he took his staff and beat that person

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[6]Bodhidharma's robe and the Dharma were considered as the two parts of a tally which "sanctioned" the orthodox transmission.

[7]See Section 5/n.4.

[8]Vimalakīrti scolded the Buddha's disciple Śāriputra for sitting in meditation in the forest. See the Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa, T 14, p. 539c.

[9]This is a pejorative phrase referring to the practice of Shen-hsiu's Northern Ch'an.

until he got up.[10] Now let me ask you: You always rely on the injunctions of the teachings to encourage sitting-ch'an. Lines of Ch'an huts fill the cliffs and ravines. This goes against the realization of the patriarchs, and hence I am skeptical.

Although I have on a number of occasions responded to these questions, those with doubts still number in the thousands. It is a pity that they have not yet heard. Those who raise these objections are all led by their feelings into biased grasping. The things which they grasp are in each case different. They conflict with each other, and thus, in resolving these doubts, I may well increase the disease from which they have been suffering.[11] For this reason, I must unveil the principles of the three gates and classify the entire canon [within those three gates]. This will answer all these doubts in one stroke. Everyone [of the above questioners] will understand thoroughly. (Below, I will add notes in answer to these questions after the appropriate passage. You must consult these notes to see my answers.)

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[10]No such passage occurs in the _Liu-tsu t'an-ching_. Perhaps, this fact was recorded in the biography of Hui-neng which circulated in Tsung-mi's time.

[11]Kamata's text reads _chi_ ("self") here. I have followed the T and ZZ versions, both of which read _i_ (indicating past tense) in place of _chi_.

17.

7. [I said earlier that] Dharma and the principles [of the teachings] are not the same and one must be good at distinguishing [what is Dharma and what is a principle]. Whoever wishes to clearly understand the Nature and marks[1] of all dharmas must first be able to distinguish between Dharma and principles. If we rely on Dharma to understand the principles, then the principles will be clarified part by part. If we discuss Dharma in terms of the principles, then Dharma will be revealed. Let me make this clear now with a worldly analogy. Real gold is conditioned by artisans into rings, bracelets, bowls, cups, and other utensils. The nature of the gold never changes into brass or iron. Gold is Dharma, while "unchanged" and "conditioned" are principles. Should someone ask what is unchanged and what is conditioned, I would merely reply in both cases: "Gold." By analogy, the principles of the sutras and sastras of the entire canon are talking only about mind. Mind is Dharma and all [of the sutras and sastras] are principles. Therefore, the sutra says: "Incalculable principles arise from the one Dharma."[2] However, the

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[1]Here "the Nature" refers to emptiness (*śūnyatā*).

[2]From the *Wu-liang-i ching* (T 9, p. 385c). This sutra was composed in China. See Ōchō Enichi, "Muryōgi kyō ni tsuite," *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū*, V. 2, No. 2 (March, 1954), pp. 453-62.

incalculable principles fall into only two types. The first is the unchanging and the second is the conditioned. Various sutras say that this mind follows either deluded or awakened conditions, becoming either defiled or pure, common or noble, impassioned or awakened, with-outflows or without-outflows, etc. They also say that, even while this mind is defiled or pure, it is ab-aeterno unchanging, constantly calm and extinguished, reality and tathata, etc. Should someone ask what Dharma is unchanging and what Dharma is conditioned, I would merely reply in both cases: "Mind." "Unchanging" is the Nature, while "conditioned" is the marks. You must know that the Nature and marks are both principles on the One-mind.[3] At present, the Nature lineage and the marks lineage[4] criticise each other. This is because they do not know the True-mind. Whenever they hear the character "mind," they think that it connotes only the eight perceptions,[5] not realizing that the eight

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[3]The core of the Ta-ch'eng ch'i-hsin lun (T no. 1666) is the One-mind and its two gates (i-hsin erh-men), the real and the unreal. This is also expressed as Dharma and its two principles. Just as the Nature or emptiness (the real principle of the One-mind) and the marks (the unreal principle of the One-mind) are non-dual, Ch'an (the Nature) and the teachings (the marks) are non-dual.

[4]For the Nature or Dharmatā lineage (hsing-tsung) and the marks lineage (hsiang-tsung), see Chapter Four of the Introduction.

[5]According to the fundamental textbook of the marks lineage (Ch'eng wei-shih lun/T no. 1585) all designations

perceptions are merely conditioned principles on the True-mind. Thus, Aśvaghoṣa bodhisattva[6] considered the One-mind to be Dharma, and the two gates, tathata and emerging-submerging, to be principles. The sastra says: "Grounded in this mind, the Mahayana principles are revealed."[7] The tathata of mind is the substance; the emerging-submerging of mind is the marks and functions. Because this mind is not unreal, we say it is true [chen]; because it is unchanging, we say it is tathata [ju]. The sastra[8] speaks repeatedly of the tathata of mind and the emerging-submerging of mind. Most of today's Ch'anists, unaware of principles, merely shout that "mind is Ch'an." Most exegetes, not knowing Dharma, merely use names to speak of the principles. By following these names they give rise to grasping and it becomes difficult for them to come to a penetrating understanding. When they hear [the character] "mind" they say it is shallow. When they hear [the character] "Nature,"

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of self and dharmas are in perception-transformation, which is of three types: 1. coming-to-fruition; 2. intellection; and 3. perception of objects. The first is the ālaya-vijñana. The second is the perception called "manas," which proceeds based on the ālaya and taking the ālaya as its object. The third is the perception of six types of objects.

[6]For Tsung-mi, Aśvaghoṣa was the Indian compiler of the Ch'i-hsin lun.

[7]The sastra is the Ch'i-hsin lun (T 32, p. 575c).

[8]Ch'i-hsin lun (T 32, p. 576a).

they say it is deep. Some of them even take the Nature to be Dharma and mind to be a principle. In order to clear up these [misunderstandings], I must classify the sutras and sastras according to the three realizations.[9] Once Dharma and the principles are revealed, there is only reversion to the One-mind. Spontaneously there will be no more contention.

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[9]For the three realizations, see Section 21.

18.

8. [I said earlier that the term] "mind" penetrates both the Nature and the marks; [the term for] "mind" is always the same but its meaning varies. Some of the sutras criticize mind as a thief and [say that we should] control it to cut off [its activities]. Some of the sutras praise mind as the Buddha and encourage us to subject it to practice. Some sutras speak of the good mind and the evil mind, the pure mind and the defiled mind, the covetous mind and the angry mind, the merciful mind and the compassionate mind. Some say that mind arises in dependence on objects. Some say that mind give rise to objects. Some say that calmness-extinction is the mind. Some say that object-perceiving is the mind. These various [formulations] contradict one another. If the various realizations are not opposed to each other and laid before the sutra-reader,[1] how can he understand these [definitions of "mind"]? Are there many sorts of "mind" or merely one type? Let me now explain in brief the name and the substance [of this matter]. Generally speaking, there are four types of mind. The Sanskrit is different in each case, and hence the [Chinese] translations also differ.[2]

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[1] The "various realizations" are the three realizations explained in Section 21.

[2] Actually, the first and the fourth "minds" are the same Sanskrit term (hṛdaya) with two different Chinese transliterations.

The first is "ho-li-ta-ye" [hṛdaya]. This means the physical mind. This is the mind in each of the five viscera in the body. (The full details are given in the discussion on the five viscera in the Huang-t'ing ching.[3])

The second is the object-perceiving mind. This is the eight perceptions because each [of the eight] is capable of perceiving its own objects. (Forms are the objects of

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[3]The Huang-t'ing ching is the focal point of a group of writings of what Herrlee G. Creel calls "Hsien Taoism," the Taoism of becoming an immortal. This text arose sometime during the Wei (A.D. 220-65) or Western Chin (A.D. 265-316). In the Tao tsang these writings are not assembled in a group, but are scattered throughout. See Rolf Homann, Die wichtigsten Körpergottheiten im Huang-t'ing ching (Goppingen: Verlag Alfred Kümmerle, 1971), pp. 1-11. Chapter Eight of the Shang-ching huang-t'ing nei-ching ching says: "The spirit [shen] of the heart [hsin] is called 'origin of cinnabar.' Its style is 'protecting spiritual brightness.' The spirit of the lungs is called 'white flower.' Its style is 'empty completion.' The spirit of the liver is called 'dragon smoke.' Its style is 'holding brightness.' The I-yü [The commentator, Wu Ch'eng-tz'u, glosses this as "the emblem of Wood."] guides the smoke. It rules over turbidity and clarity. The spirit of the kidneys is called 'dark mystery.' Its style is 'raising children.' The spirit of the spleen is called 'eternally present.' Its style is 'stopping-place of the hun-soul.' The spirit of the gall-bladder is called 'dragon dazzling.' Its style is 'imposing brightness.' The six bowels and the five viscera are the essence [ching] of the spirit body. [Wu Ch'eng-tz'u comments: "Heart, liver, lungs, kidneys, and spleen are the five viscera. Gall-bladder, stomach, lower intestine, smaller intestine, bladder, and the three ducts[?] are the six bowels."] They are all within the heart and revolve through the Heavenly course. Day and night, preserve them [i.e., the spirits] and, spontaneously, you will live long." (Huang-ti yin-fu ching huang-t'ing nei-wai-ching ching ho-k'an, Tao-tsang ching-hua, Ser. I, No. 9 [Taipei: Tzu-yu ch'u-pan she, 1965], pp. 37-38) Tsung-mi simply replaces "spirit" (shen) with "mind" (hsin). This makes the case of the first viscus somewhat confusing, since in Tsung-mi's revision it has become the "mind" (hsin) of the "heart" (hsin).

the eye-perception . . . the organ body, the seeds, and the vessel-world[4] are the objects of the ālaya-vijñāna. Because each [perception] takes as its object only one part, we use the phrase "its own [objects].") Each of these eight minds has mental states [caitta]. Within these, some are merely indeterminate, while others are distinguished as either good or defiled. Some sutras view "mind" as a collective term for all these mental states. [Thus,] they speak of the good mind, the evil mind, etc.

The third is "chih-to-ye" [citta]. This means the mind which accumulates and produces, because only the eighth perception accumulates seeds and produces the active [perceptions]. (The discussion on the five viscera in the Huang-t'ing ching views this type of mind as "spirit" [shen]. Heretics in the western countries consider it to be a Self.[5])

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[4]The Ch'eng wei-shih lun says: "[The third verse of the Triṃśikā says that the ālaya-vijñāna] has the perception of unconscious clinging [upādi] and place [sthāna] . . . . Place is the vessel-world because it is the place all sentient-beings rely upon. There are two clingings, the seeds and the organ-body. 'Seeds' means vāsanā of marks, names, and discriminations. 'Organ-body' means the various organs and organ bases . . . . Clinging and place are both objects. When the ālaya-vijñāna, because of the power of causes and conditions, arises as a self-substance, within, it changes into the seeds and organ-body, and, without, it changes into the vessel [-world]. It then takes these changes as its own objects . . . . Within this [verse], 'perception' means that the coming-to-fruition perception [i.e., the ālaya-vijñāna] has perceiving functions with respect to its own objects." (T 31, p. 10a)

[5]This refers to the Brahmanical atman.

The fourth is "kan-li-ta-ye" [also hṛdaya]. This means the solid Real-mind or the Reality mind. This is the Reality mind. However, the eighth perception is not a self-substance separate [from this Reality mind]. It is merely that this True-mind, when unawakened, has the [two] principles of mixed with unreal thoughts and unmixed. In its mixed principle, it contains defilements and purities, and we view it as the ālaya-vijñāna. In its unmixed principle, it is eternally unchanging and we view it as tathata. [The ālaya-vijñāna and tathata] taken together are the tathagatagarbha. Therefore, the Laṅkāvatāra says: "Calmness-extinction is called the One-mind. The One-mind is the tathagatagarbha."[6] The tathagatagarbha is also the dharmakaya in bondage, as the Śrīmālā-sūtra says.[7]

Thus we know that the four types of mind are ab-aeterno one substance. Therefore, the Ghana-vyūha-sūtra says: "The Buddha said that the tathagatagarbha (the name of the dharmakaya in bondage) is to be taken as identical to the ālaya (ālaya-vijñāna). The uninformed

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[6]The Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra, T 16, p. 519a.

[7]The Śrīmālā-sūtra says: "Thus, when the dharmakaya of the Tathāgata is not free of the store of depravities, it is called the tathagatagarbha." (T 12, p. 221c)

do not realize that the [tathagata-]garbha is identical to the ālaya-vijñāna. (There are those who hold to [the mistaken view] that tathata and the ālaya are different in substance.[8] They are uninformed.) The pure tathagatagarbha and the worldly ālaya are like gold and a gold ring, absolutely without difference."[9] (The ring is analogous to the ālaya, while the gold is analogous to tathata. Together they are called the tathagatagarbha.) However, even though they are identical in substance, as real and unreal principles [of the True-mind] they differ, as beginning and end differ. The first three [types of mind] are marks; the last is the Nature. Grounded in the Nature, marks are brought forth through causation. Bringing the marks back to the Nature is not something which cannot be done. The Nature and the marks are without obstruction; together they are the One-mind. If you lose your way here, in proceeding you will face a wall. If you are awakened to this, then all dharmas [appear as] in a mirror. If one

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[8]This refers to the Yogacara lineage which in China is called the Fa-hsiang lineage. See Chapter Four of the Introduction.

[9]From a verse in the Ghana-vyūha-sūtra (T 16, p. 747a). The Ghana-vyuha was translated twice into Chinese during the T'ang, by Divākara and by Amoghavajra. This sutra says that the ālaya-vijñana is "in the midst of the active perceptions and their objects and the vasanā, but is eternally pure." (T 16, p. 738a)

vainly seeks in the texts [as the exegetes do] or believes in the subjective mind [as the Ch'anists do], how can he understand the Nature and the marks of this One-mind?

19.

9. [I said earlier that] the various sayings having to do with all-at-once and step-by-step awakening and practice seem to be contradictory, but [really] fit together. Of the various sutras and sastras and the various Ch'an gates, some say that one first relies on the merit accumulated through step-by-step practice and then all-at-once awakens.[1] Some say that one first relies on all-at-once awakening and then can engage in step-by-step practice.[2] Some say that relying on all-at-once practice, one step-by-step awakens. Some say that awakening and practice are both step-by-step. Some say that they are both all-at-once. Some say that the Dharma has neither all-at-once nor step-by-step, that all-at-once and step-by-step are in the abilities [of men]. Each of the above sayings is significant. To say that they seem to be contradictory means that, having awakened, one becomes a Buddha; the depravities never existed. We call this "all-at-once." Thus, there is no need to practice to cut off [the depravities], so how can anyone speak further of step-by-step practice? Step-by-step practice

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[1]According to Tsung-mi, this is the approach of Shen-hsiu's Northern Ch'an.

[2]This is the approach of Tsung-mi's own Ho-tse lineage.

implies that the depravities have not yet been fully exhausted, that the practice of causes is not yet perfect, that the virtues of effect are not yet full, so how can it be called "all-at-once"? All-at-once is not step-by-step. Step-by-step is not all-at-once. Thus, they are said to be contradictory. If in the following I bring them together to face each other, then [it will be clear that] all-at-once and step-by-step are not merely not contradictory, but are complementary.

20.

10. [I said earlier that] in the master-student transmission, [the master] must know the medicine [for each and every] disease. This means that all expedients used in instructing students first reveal the Original-nature, and then order the students to rely on this Nature to practice Ch'an. In most cases when the Nature is not easily awakened to, it is because of the grasping of marks. Thus, if [a master] wants to reveal this Nature, he must first destroy grasping. As to expedients for destroying grasping, one must get rid of both the common and the noble, get rid of both success and failure, neither violate nor hold to the precepts, have neither samadhi nor distraction in Ch'an, hold the thirty-two marks to be like a flower in the sky,[1] hold the thirty-seven parts of the Way[2] to be a dream or mock show. If one makes the mind have no attachments, then one can practice Ch'an. Novices and those of shallow knowledge grasp only these [Ch'an] phrases as the ultimate Way. Furthermore, as to the gate of practice, because most men are self-indulgent and indolent,

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[1]A Buddha's sambhogakaya, visible only to bodhisattvas, bears thirty-two special marks (his head has a natural topknot of flesh; the hair of his head grows clockwise; his forehead is perfectly flat, etc.) and eighty minor signs (for lists, see Leon Hurvitz, Chih-I, pp. 353-61). It is the result of merit accumulated by the Buddha during many kalpas. A flower in the sky (kha-puṣpa) is a type of maya ("illusion").

[2]See Section 8/n.3.

[masters] speak a great deal of taking joy [in the Path] and wearying [of this world]. They criticize covetousness and anger and praise diligence, regulation of the body and regulation of breath, and [describe] the sequence of coarse and subtle marks.[3] When novices hear these words, they become deluded about the function of Original-awakening and proceed to grasp marks in one direction. Only those [students] of great ability and fixed will serve their masters for the full course [of study]. They then obtain the purport of awakening and practice. Those whose nature is light and shallow, having heard one idea [i.e., either awakening or practice], say that they are already finished. Still depending upon their small intelligence, they become masters of others. Having not yet investigated from beginning to end, they produce more biased grasping. Thus, [some stand] beneath the all-at-once gate and [some] beneath the step-by-step, glaring at each other like enemies. The northern and southern lineages view each other as enemies in the manner of Ch'u and Han.[4] The

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[3]The Ch'i-hsin lun (T 32, p. 577a-c) divides marks into the three subtle ones and the six course ones. The former are the karma of ignorance, subject, and object. These are root ignorance. The latter are discriminative knowledge, continuity, grasping, naming, production of karma, and the suffering which results from karma. These are branch ignorance. The three subtle ones are difficult to remove, while the six course ones are more easily eliminated. See Sections 51 and 54.

[4]This refers to the struggle between Hsiang Yü, who

practice of washing the feet[5] and the analogy of [the blind men] feeling the elephant[6] are relevant here. Why do I desire to bring together these writings by making them into a separate compilation? [My reasoning is best explained by] reference to the three dots of the round "i" [∴].[7] Three dots [standing] separately would not constitute an "i'. If the three realizations conflicted, how could one become a Buddha? Thus, we know that, if one wants to know the disease and the medicine in instruction,

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belonged to a family of hereditary generals of the state of Ch'u, and Liu Pang, who received the title King of Han from Hsiang Yü in 206 B.C. In 202 B.C. Liu Pang won out and set himself up as emperor, calling his dynasty Han.

[5]This reference has not been traced.

[6]A group of blind men are shown an elephant and each touches it. They are asked if they saw the elephant and each answers in the affirmative. They are then asked what the elephant is like. The man who touched the tusk says that an elephant's form is like a turnip root. The man who touched the ear says an elephant is like a sieve, etc. The simile is from the *Nirvāṇa-sūtra* (T 12, p. 556a).

[7]This simile also derives from the *Nirvāṇa-sūtra*: "What is it that is called the secret store? It is like the three dots of the letter "*i*." If they are lined up horizontally, they do not constitute an "*i*." If lined up vertically, they also do not constitute an "i". . . . I [the Buddha is speaking] am also like this. The Dharma of liberation is not *nirvaṇa*. The body of the Tathagata is not nirvana. *Mahā-prajña* is not nirvana. The three Dharmas are each different and none of them [alone] is nirvana. I will now dwell peacefully. Thus the three Dharmas [together] for the sake of sentient-beings are called entering into nirvana." (T 12, p. 376c) This "*i*" (a variant form of इ) is written in *siddhaṃ* (*hsi-t'an*), a medieval style of Sanskrit orthography studied in China and used particularly in recording dharanis and mantras. The oldest extant Chinese work on *siddhaṃ* is the *Hsi-t'an tzu-chi* (T no. 2132) by Chih-kuang (d. 806).

he must see that the three realizations do not conflict. If he wants to see that the three realizations do not conflict, he must understand the three types of the Buddha's teaching. (As mentioned previously, there are some who criticize, saying: Why does a Ch'an master [like you] explain [the sutras and sastras]?[8] My answer to this question is now complete, grouped under ten headings. This is why I remarked earlier that the patriarchs and masters of the western regions all propagated the sutras and sastras.)[9]

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[8] See Section 7.

[9] See Section 11.

21.

The above ten ideas have been made clear through examples. Once the three realizations of Ch'an and the three types of the teachings have been paired off with each other, it will be like weighing each of them, sufficient to determine [which are] shallow and [which are] deep. I will first discuss the various Ch'an gates and later use the teachings to prove them. The three realizations of Ch'an are: 1. the realization of stopping the unreal and cultivating mind;[1] 2. the realization of cut off and nothing to rely upon;[2] and 3. the realization of directly revealing the mind-nature [citta-prakṛti].[3] The three types of the teachings are: 1. the secret teaching which relies on the Nature and speaks of marks;[4] 2. the secret teaching

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[1]Four Ch'an lineages have this realization: the Ching-chung lineage of Chih-hsien; the northern lineage of Shen-hsiu; the Pao-t'ang lineage of Wu-chu; and the lineage of Kao-lang Hsüan-shih. It is interesting that, with the exception of the northern lineage, all of them were centered in Szechuan, Tsung-mi's native province.

[2]Two Ch'an lineages have this realization: the lineage of Shih-t'ou Hsi-ch'ien and the Oxhead lineage of Niu-t'ou Fa-yung.

[3]Two Ch'an lineages have this realization: the Hung-chou lineage of Ma-tsu Tao-i and Tsung-mi's Ho-tse lineage.

[4]This teaching has three subdivisions: 1. the ethical teaching for laymen which aims at better rebirths; 2. the Hinayana (the Āgama-s and the Abhidarmikas); and 3. the Saṃdhi-nirmocana-sūtra and the Fa-hsiang lineage or marks lineage (hsiang-tsung).

which negates marks and reveals the Nature;[5] and 3. the teaching which openly reveals that the True-mind is the Nature.[6] Each of these three teachings is identical to its counterpart among the three previous realizations. Once I have placed them opposite each other and proved them one by one, I will bring them all together into one taste.

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[5]This is the teaching of the Prajñā-pāramitā-sūtras and the San-lun lineage or emptiness lineage (k'ung-tsung).

[6]This is the teaching of the Nature or Dharmatā lineage (hsing-tsung) based on such sutras as the Avataṃsaka, the Śrīmālā, the Tathāgata-garbha, and the Nirvāṇa, and such sastras as the Ratna-gotra, the Buddha-gotra, the Ch'i-hsin lun, etc.

22.

At this time I will discuss the Ch'an realizations. The first is the realization of stopping the unreal and cultivating mind. It says that, even though ab-aeterno sentient-beings possess the Buddha-nature, beginningless ignorance [avidyā] has always covered the Buddha-nature so that it could not be seen. Because of this, the wheel revolves through births and deaths. Because the Buddhas have cut off unreal thoughts, they see the Nature in its entirety, escape samsara, possess the supernatural knowledges, and are self-existent. [This Ch'an realization says:] You must realize that the common man and the noble one are not the same in their achievements, that external objects and the internal mind are separate. Thus, you must, relying on the spoken teachings of the masters, turn away from the objects, discern mind, and extinguish unreal thoughts. When these thoughts are exhausted, then you will awaken. There will be nothing which you will not know. It is like a mirror beclouded by dust. You must vigorously sweep it, for, once the dust is removed, the brightness will reappear, and the mirror will reflect anything placed before it.[1] Further, you must clearly understand the expedients leading into the realm of Ch'an: Divorce yourself

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[1]This is a paraphrase of Shen-hsiu's poem in the Liu-tsu t'an-ching (Section 6 of the Tun-huang version).

from the confusion and noise of the world; seclude yourself in a quiet place; regulate the body and regulate the breath; sit quietly in lotus-posture; press the tongue against the roof of the mouth; have the mind concentrate on one object. The disciples of [Chih-]hsien in the south, [Shen-]hsiu in the north, Pao-t'ang, Hsüan-shih, and others are all of this type. The entrance expedients of Niu-t'ou, T'ien-t'ai, Hui-ch'ou, Guṇabhadra,[2] and others are much the same [as this type], but their understanding is different.

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[2]See the notes to Section 12 for all these Ch'an masters.

23.

The second is the realization of cut off and nothing to rely upon [min-chüeh wu-chi].[1] It says that both common and noble dharmas are like a dream or mock show;[2] none of them has any existence. Ab-aeterno [dharmas] are empty and calm. It is not a case of coming to non-existence for the

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[1]This phrase occurs in the Fa-chieh kuan-men. The gate of dharma-dhātu contemplation has three levels: 1. the true-emptiness contemplation; 2. the principle-and-phenomena-unobstructed contemplation; and 3. the universal-inclosure contemplation. The true-emptiness contemplation is subdivided into four parts: 1. the bring-forms-back-to-emptiness contemplation; 2. the showing-that-emptiness-is-identical-to-forms contemplation; 3. the emptiness-and-forms-are-unobstructed contemplation; and 4. the cut-off-and-nothing-to-rely-upon contemplation (min-chüeh wu-chi kuan). Concerning the fourth, the text says: "The fourth, the cut-off-and-nothing-to-rely-upon contemplation, means that the true-emptiness which is contemplated here cannot be said to be either identical to forms or not identical to forms. It also cannot be said to be identical to emptiness or not identical to emptiness. All dharmas are inexpressible [inconceivable]. Even inexpressibility is inexpressible. Even this word ["inexpressible"] should not be clung to. Separate--cut off--nothing to rely upon. It is not something words come up to. It is not something understanding reaches. This means it is the realm of practice. Why? Because to produce mind and move thoughts is to pervert the Dharma-substance and lose correct thought." (T 45, p. 675a) The text adds that, of the four subdivisions of the true-emptiness contemplation, in the first two understanding is produced, in the third understanding ends and practice begins, and the fourth "correctly completes the substance of practice." (T 45, p. 675c)

[2]This may be a paraphrase of the Chüeh-kuan lun attributed to Niu-t'ou Fa-yung (unavailable in any of the major collections).

first time now. Thus, even the knowledge which comprehends this non-existence is inconceivable [anupalambha]. In the dharma-dhātu of sameness there is neither Buddha nor sentient-being.[3] Even "dharma-dhātu" is a provisional name [prajñapti]. Since mind does not have [self-]existence, who [could possibly exist] to say "dharma-dhātu"? There is neither practice nor non-practice, neither Buddha nor non-Buddha. Suppose there were a dharma which excelled nirvana. I say that even it would be like a dream or mock show.[4] There is no Dharma to adhere to and no Buddha to become. Whatever is created is unreal.[5] If one in this way comprehends that ab-aeterno there is nothing to do [wu-shih], that mind has nothing to rely upon, then he will escape perversity and for the first time be called liberated. [The lineage of] Shih-t'ou and [the lineage running] from Niu-t'ou to Ching-shan[6] both manifest this principle. They make their mind-sphere [citta-gocara] bonded with this and do not allow

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[3]This phrase occurs in the Chüeh-kuan lun.

[4]The Mo-ho pan-jo po -lo-mi ching (Kumārajīva's translation of the Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā-prajñā-pāramitā) says: "If there were dharmas superior to nirvana, I say they also would be like a mock show and like a dream. Why? . . . this mock show or dream and nirvana are non-dual, not separate." (T 8, p. 276b)

[5]The Vajracchedikā-sūtra says: "Whatever possesses marks is unreal." (T 8, p. 749a)

[6]For Shih-t'ou and Niu-t'ou see Section 12/n.6 and n.7. "Ching-shan" refers to Ching-shan Fa-ch'in (714-92), seventh generation patriarch in the Niu-t'ou lineage. His biography can be found in the Sung kao-seng chuan, T 50, pp. 764b-765a.

feelings to stagnate on [any] one dharma. When, after many days, achievement arrives and vāsanā disappears, they [no longer] have anything to do with enemies, friends, suffering, joy. But there exists a type of Taoist master[7] or [Confucian] scholar or idle monk who, having only lightly practiced this Ch'an principle, says that these sayings [i.e., "There is neither Buddha nor sentient-beings," etc.] are the Ultimate. [Such people] do not realize that this realization does not merely take these sayings as Dharma. The disciples of Ho-tse, Kiangsi, T'ien-t'ai,[8] and others also speak of this principle. However, it is not the content of their realization.

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[7]The Mao-shan school of Hsien Taoism was centered on Mt. Niu-t'ou outside Chin-ling, the home of the Oxhead Ch'an lineage. Numerous Taoist works are mentioned in Fa-yung's biography in the *Hsü kao-seng chuan* (T 50, pp. 603c-605b). The Taoist *Pen-chi ching*, compiled in the seventh century, shows a great deal of similarity to the teaching of Oxhead Ch'an: "Do not cling to what the texts say about the Tao. If one comprehends the inconceivable [*wu-te*], it is like the sky -- neither existent nor non-existent, neither stupidity nor knowledge, neither cause nor effect, neither common nor noble, neither form nor mind, neither marks nor non-marks." (Wu Chi-yu, *Pen-tsi ching* [Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1960], p. 171) Concerning the interchange between Taoism, Ch'an, and San-lun, see Kamata Shigeo, "Sho Tō ni okeru Sanronshū to Dōkyō," *Tōyō bunka kenkyūjo kiyō*, No. 46 (March, 1968), pp. 49-108, and Kamata Shigeo, "Sanronshū--Gozushū--Dōkyō o musubu shisōteki keifu," *Komazawa Daigaku Bukkyō gakubu kenkyū kiyō*, No. 26 (March, 1968), pp. 79-89.

[8]For these Ch'an lineages see the notes to Section 12.

24.

The third is the realization which directly reveals the mind-nature. It says that all dharmas, even though they are both existent and empty, are merely the True-nature. The True-nature is unconditioned [asamkṛta]; it is not anything in substance. [This is what is meant by such phrases as] "neither common nor noble," "neither cause nor effect," "neither good nor evil," etc. However, in its functional aspect it creates all [dharmas]. [This is what is meant by such phrases as] "can be the common and can be the noble," "manifests form and manifests marks," etc.

There are two types within [Ch'an whose teachings] point to the mind-nature. The first, [the Hung-chou house,][1] says: "Your ability right now to talk, act, feel covetousness, anger, compassion, patience, create good or bad [karma] and receive suffering or joy, etc., is your Buddha-nature. By virtue of this you are ab-aeterno a Buddha. There is no other Buddha than this. Once you understand this Heavenly-real-self-so-ness [t'ien-chen tzu-jan],[2] you

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[1]Many of the themes in the following can be found in the Ma-tsu yü-lu (ZZ 2, 24, 5, pp. 405L-409R).

[2]This phrase, originally Taoist, means self-so without the application of human effort.

should not stir your mind to cultivate the Way. The Way is mind. You could not [possibly] use mind to cultivate mind. Evil is also mind. You could not [possibly] use mind to rid mind [of evil]. When you neither cultivate [your mind] nor try to rid it [of evil], but merely let luck take its own course and exist of yourself [jen-yün tzu-tsai],[3] then you are to be called liberated. This Nature is like space; it neither increases nor decreases. What could you possibly add to it? Merely, wherever you are and whatever time it is, stop karma and nourish the spirit [hsi-ye yang-shen].[4] Your sagely embryo [sheng-t'ai][5] will grow and become manifest, self-so and divinely wonderful [tzu-jan shen-miao]. This is true awakening, true practice, and true realization."

The second, [the Ho-tse house,] says: "All dharmas are like a dream. All the noble ones have said the same thing.

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[3]The Ma-tsu yü-lu says: "If you understand this idea, then you can put on clothes and eat food whenever it is appropriate, nourishing your sagely embryo, letting luck take its own course and passing time [jen-yün kuo-shih]. What else is there?" (ZZ 2, 24, 5, p. 406R)

[4]The Chuang Tzu says: "Therefore, it is said: 'To be simple and unmixed; to be quiescent oneness without change; to be indifferent and non-striving; when moving to follow the conduct of Heaven -- this is the way of nourishing the spirit [yang-shen chih tao].'" (SPPY 132, 6, p. 2L)

[5]This is equivalent to the "three worthies." See Section 8/n.l.

Unreal thoughts are ab-aeterno calm. The dust objects are ab-aeterno empty. The mind of emptiness and calmness is active Knowing which never darkens [ling-chih pu-wei].[6] This Knowing of emptiness and calmness [k'ung-chi chih chih][7] is your True-nature. Whether you are deluded or awakened, your mind is ab-aeterno self-Knowing. [Knowing] is not brought into existence by conditions. It does not arise in dependence on any object. The one character "Knowing" is the gate of all infinitesimals [chung-miao chih men].[8] Because of beginningless delusion about it, you have falsely grasped body and mind as a self and given rise to such thoughts as covetousness and anger. [But,] if you find a good-friend to show [the Path,] then you will all-at-once awaken to the Knowing of emptiness and calmness. Knowing

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[6]Ch'eng-kuan's Hua-yen hsin-yao fa-men begins: "The ultimate Tao is rooted in mind. Mind and dharmas are rooted in the unfixed. The unfixed mind-substance is active Knowing which never darkens." (ZZ 2, 8, 4, p.303R) Tsung-mi's commentary to the Hsin-yao fa-men is included in the ZZ version.

[7]In his T'an-yü Shen-hui says: "The Original-substance is empty and calm. From the top of empty, calm Substance Knowing arises." (Hu Shih, Shen-hui ho-shang i-chi, p. 239)

[8]The opening chapter of the Tao-te ching says: "Truly, by being always without desire one views the miao. [Wang Pi glosses miao as the extreme of minuteness (wei chih chi).] By always having desires one views the outcomes. These two emerge from sameness but have different names. This sameness, we call it mystery. Or more mysterious than mystery. The gate of all miao [chung-miao chih men]." (SPPY, 130, shang, p.1R-L)

is no-mindfulness, no-form. Who is it that is characterized as "self" and who is it that is characterized as "other"? When you awaken to the emptiness of all marks, mind itself is no-mindfulness. Thoughts arising is awakening. When you awaken to this, then there is "nothing" [wu]. The wonderful gate of practice lies here alone. Thus, even though you fully carry out all the practices, merely take no-mindfulness as the realization.[9] If you merely obtain the Knowing-seeing [chih-chien] of no-mindfulness, then love and hatred will spontaneously decrease, compassion and wisdom will spontaneously increase, sinful karma will spontaneously be eliminated, and meritorious practices will spontaneously increase. Once you understand that all marks are non-marks, you practice in a self-so manner but there is no practice. When the depravities are exhausted, samsara will cease; once emerging-submerging is extinguished, calmness and illumination will become manifest, and you will respond to everything spontaneously. This is called becoming a Buddha."

Both these houses, [the Hung-chou and the Ho-tse,] bring the marks back to the Nature [hui-hsiang kuei-hsing].[10]

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[9] In the Ho-tse ta-shih hsien-tsung chi Shen-hui says: "No-mindfulness is the realization. The uncreated is the basis. True-emptiness is the substance. True-existence is the function." (T 51, p. 458c)

[10] This phrase is sometimes expressed as she-hsiang kuei-hsing. In the five-tiered classification scheme of

Therefore, they are the same single realization. However, within the above three [Ch'an] realizations, there are those who honor the teachings[11] and those who disparage them,[12] those who follow marks and those who negate marks. [Also,] there are a great many differences [within the three Ch'an realizations in terms of] doors to refuting outsiders' arguments, skillful means for leading outsiders, rules for teaching disciples. [But] all of them are the practice gate of dual benefit.[13] Each is suitable for a particular type of person, and hence, none of them misses [the mark]. The principles which they realize should not involve duality. Thus, I must bring them together in accordance with the Buddha.

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the Nature lineage, it corresponds to the third tier, "the Mahayana final teaching." The tathagatagarbha or mind-nature (citta-prakṛti/hsin-hsing) is the basis of this teaching. Because the Hung-chou and Ho-tse houses both base themselves on this mind-nature, they are said by Tsung-mi to be of "the same single realization."

[11]Shen-hsiu's northern lineage "honored" the Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra and Fa-yung's Oxhead lineage "honored" the Prajñā-pāramitā-sūtras.

[12]It is not clear which Ch'an lineage(s) Tsung-mi has in mind.

[13]They are practice to benefit self and practice to benefit others.

25.

I will now divide the teachings of the Buddha into three general types. The first is the secret teaching which relies on the Nature and speaks of marks. (The Buddha saw that the three realms and the six paths[1] are all marks of the True-nature. They arise merely because sentient-beings are deluded about the Nature. They have no self-substance separate [from the Nature]. Therefore, we speak of "relying on the Nature." People whose abilities are dull find it difficult to open awakening. For this reason, the Dharma is spoken to them in terms of the object marks which they see; step-by-step they cross over. Therefore, we say that [this first teaching] "speaks of marks." Its "speaking" does not go so far as to reveal [the Nature] and, therefore, we say that it is "secret.")

Within this first teaching there are three subdivisions. The first is the men-and-gods-cause-and-effect teaching.[2]

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[1]The six paths are the six states of existence into which rebirth is possible: hell, ghosts, animals, men, asuras, and gods. There are normally five (omitting asuras).

[2]This is the ethical teaching for laymen which leads to rebirth into the good states of existence, men and gods. It is formulated as the ten virtues. The first three have to do with the body: no killing living things; no taking of that which has not been given; and no illicit conduct in sexual matters. The next four have to do with speech: no speaking in flowery language; no using abusive language; no lying; and no idle talk. The last three have to do with mind: no covetousness; no thought of doing harm; and no false views.

It speaks of good and bad karmic retribution. It makes people know that there is no discrepancy between cause and effect, makes them fear suffering in one of the three [evil] paths,[3] makes them seek the joy of men and gods, makes them carry out all such practices as giving, morality, and dhyana,[4] enabling them to be reborn into the path of men or the path of the gods up through the realms of form and non-form. This is why we say it is the "men-and-gods teaching."

The second is the teaching which cuts off the depravities and extinguishes suffering. It says that there is no peace in [any of] the three realms, that [existence within] any one of them is like suffering in a burning house. It makes people cut off their accumulation of karma and depravities, cultivate the Path, and realize extinction [nirodha]. Because [this second subdivision of the first teaching] accords with abilities, the number of dharmas spoken of are [each] completely different.[5] [The seventy-five dharmas] differentiate between false and correct, discriminate between common and noble, divide up weariness

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[3]These are the first three of the six states of existence: hell, ghosts, and animals.

[4]The mention here of dhyana is curious.

[5]The Abhidharma-kośa enumerates seventy-five dharmas (states of existence or conditions of being) in all. There are six general classification schemes which divide up

and joy, make clear cause and effect. [This second subdivision] says that sentient-beings, [as composed of] the five aggregates [skandha],[6] all lack a self and are merely bodily form and cognitive mind. From without beginning, because of the power of origination by dependence, emerging and submerging from moment to moment, the personal-continuity-series [saṃtāna] is without end, like water bubbles or the flame of a lamp.[7] Body and mind temporarily unite, but seem to be an eternal unit. The ignorant, those not yet awakened, grasp this as a self. [Feeling the need] to protect this "self," they produce the three poisons,[8] covetousness (covet fame and profit in order to glorify their "selves"), anger (are angry when things go against their feelings, and fear harm to their "selves") and

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these seventy-five -- into the conditioned and the unconditioned; into the with-outflows and the without-outflows; into the four noble truths; into the twelve āyatana-s; into the eighteen dhātu-s; and into the five aggregates (this scheme actually deals only with the seventy-two conditioned dharmas). For details, see Th. Stcherbatsky, The Central Conception of Buddhism and the Meaning of the Word "Dharma", pp. 96-98.

[6]Enumerated by Tsung-mi further on in this section.

[7]The Abhidharma-kośa says: "The aggregates [emerge and] submerge from moment [to moment]. In wheel-turning [i.e., samsara] there is no doer. Due to the karma of the habitual depravities, in the intermediate state of existence [between death and rebirth] the aggregates-series enters a womb. It is like the flame of a lamp. Even though it [emerges and] submerges from moment [to moment], it is a series which can evolve to another place [i.e., the flame of one lamp can light another lamp]." (T 29, p. 47c)

[8]For the three poisons, see the Ta chih-tu lun, T 25, p. 204c.

foolishness (proceeding under misunderstanding, calculating in a non-principle way). The three poisons attack consciousness and produce bodily [movement] and speech, create all karma. Once karma is formed, it is impossible to escape. (A shadow follows a form; an echo responds to a sound.) Because [of karma], one is reborn into a suffering or joyful body in [one of] the five paths (This is the effect of individual karma.[9]) and into a superior or inferior place in [one of] the three realms. (This is the effect of common karma.[10]) Once again [the ignorant] grasp the body which they have received as a self, again giving rise to covetousness, etc., creating [more] karma and receiving [further] retribution. The body [goes through] birth, old age, sickness, and death. Once dead, it is born again. The realms come into being, stabilize, disintegrate, and [enter the] void. [Having entered the] void, they come into being again. Kalpa after kalpa, birth after birth, the wheel turns without stopping, without end and without beginning, just as a well-wheel [endlessly] draws [water].

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[9]This is the particular karmic causes in each and every sentient-being. Due to these, each sentient-being brings on his own fruits.

[10]This is the good and bad karma produced by the common actions of all men. Its effects are the rivers, mountains, etc.

All this is because [they] do not understand that this body from the outset is not a self. (Up to this point everything is the wordly cause and effect in the men-and-gods teaching. The previous [men-and-gods teaching] merely makes people weary of an inferior [place in one of the three realms] and aspire to a higher one. It does not yet say that the three realms are all calamities to [grow] weary of. Also, it does not negate the self. If I were now to summarize it, [I would say that it] is the two truths of [knowing] suffering and [cutting off] the accumulation [of suffering]. Below [this point] negates self-grasping, making people cultivate the two [further] truths of [cultivating] the Path and [realizing] extinction. It makes clear the cause and effect of transcending the world. For this reason, we call it the teaching of the four truths.) [This body] "is not a self" means that this body, because of the coming together of form and mind, becomes a mark. When we now investigate and analyze, [we find that] there are four types of form -- earth, water, fire, and air -- and there are four types of mind -- feelings (to take in agreeable and disagreeable things), ideas (to apprehend images), samskaras (makes everything),[11] and perception (to perceive one thing

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[11] The Ta-chih-tu lun says: "All the depravities of past lives are called ignorance. From ignorance arises karma. It can make the worlds as an effect [neng-tso shih-chieh kuo] and so it is called samskaras [hsing]." T 25, p. 100b.

after another). (These four [types of mind] plus form are called the five aggregates.) If each and every one of these were a self, then there would be eight selves. Furthermore, within form [i.e., the body] there are three-hundred and sixty types of bones, each one different from the other, and skin, hair, muscles, flesh, liver, heart, spleen, kidney, no one of them identical to another. (Skin is not hair, etc.) The various mental states are also different. Seeing is not hearing; happiness is not anger. Since there are this many components, we do not know what to take as a "self." If all of them are "selves," then there are a hundred-thousand "selves," many subjects in confusion within one body. There are no other dharmas beyond these [various types of form and mind], but upon analysis a "self" cannot be found in any of them. Thus, one awakens [to the realization that] these [types of] body and mind are merely conditions which [become] a seemingly united mark, but were never [really] one substance. They [become] a seeming self mark and seeming others mark, but there never [really] existed a self and others. Who covets [things] and becomes angry? Who kills and steals? Who practices giving and morality? Who is reborn as a man or as a god? ([This is] knowing the accumulation of suffering.) One then does not let the mind sink into the good and evil of having outflows in the three realms (the truth of cutting off the accumulation [of suffering]). One merely cultivates the discerning knowledge

of no-self (the truth of [cultivating] the Path) in order to cut off covetousness, etc., stop all karma, and realize the tathata of emptiness of self. He obtains the fruit of one who has entered the stream [srotāpanna], eventually extinguishing all evil bonds and obtaining the fruit of arhat (the truth of [realizing] extinction).[12] Having burned up body and extinguished knowledge, he is eternally free of suffering. The six-hundred and eighteen sutra fascicles of the Āgama-s[13] and the six-hundred and ninety-eight sastra fascicles of the [Mahā-]vibhāṣā[14] and the [Abhidharma-]kośa[15] discuss only this Hinayana and the

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[12]These are the four stages of Hinayana religious development: 1. one who has entered the stream, been converted; 2. once-returner, one who will be reborn into this world one more time; 3. non-returner, one who will not be reborn into this world; and 4. arhat, the ideal personage.

[13]The four Āgama-s are the Sanskrit equivalents of the first four of the five Pali Nikāya-s. The Āgama-s are preserved in Chinese (T vols. 1 and 2): 1. the Dīrghāgama; 2. the Madhyamāgama; 3. the Saṃyuktāgama; and 4. the Ekottarikāgama. An Shih-kao began the translation of Hinayana sutras into Chinese in Loyang in A.D. 147.

[14]The Jñāna-prasthāna (T no. 1544), compiled about 200 B.C. by Kātyāyanīputra, was recognized as central among the texts of the Sarvāstivādins. In the early part of the second century A.D.the Mahā-vibhāṣā (T no. 1545) was compiled. This is a mammoth commentary on the Jñāna-prasthāna which also takes up new questions.

[15]The Abhidharma-kośa (T no. 1558) is a resume of the vast Sarvāstivāda abhidharma by Vasubandhu. Kamata's edition omits chü-she (kośa), but it is found in both the T and ZZ versions.

previous men-and-gods-cause-and-effect [teaching]. Although these texts are voluminous, their Principle does not go beyond this [summary].

The third [subdivision] is the teaching which takes perception to negate objects. (It says that the object-marks, which the previous [subdivision] speaks of as emerging and submerging [from moment to moment], are not merely not self, but are also not dharmas in the sense in which the previous [subdivision uses that term], that they are merely unreal perception-transformation [vijñāna-pariṇāma].[16] Therefore, we say that [this teaching] "takes perception to negate objects.") [This subdivision] says that the above emerging and submerging dharmas are not connected to tathata.[17] It is merely that in each of these sentient-beings, eight types of perception have existed spontaneously from without beginning. Within these, the eighth, the ālaya-vijñāna, is the root. All-at-once transforming into the organ-body, the vessel-world, and the seeds,[18]

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[16]See Section 17/n.5 for the eight perceptions of Fa-hsiang.

[17]See Section 18/n.9.

[18]See Section 18/n.5.

its turnings give rise to the seven [active] perceptions, each of which can manifest its own objects [alambana]. (The eye-perception takes forms as its objects [and so on], up to the seventh perception which takes as its object the seeing [part of the eighth perception].[19] The eighth takes as its objects the organ[-body], the seeds, and the vessel-world.) There are no real dharmas outside the eight perceptions.

Question: How does this [perception-] transformation work? Answer[20]: Because of the power of vasana which discriminates a self and dharmas, when the various perceptions arise, they are transformed into a seeming self and dharmas.

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[19] Various Yogacarins interpreted the fifth verse of the Trimsika differently -- the Ch'eng wei-shih lun preserves the opinions of four of them: "There are some who hold the principle that this mind [i.e., the seventh perception] takes as its objects the substance and associated dharmas of that perception [i.e., the eighth perception]. . . . There are some who hold the principle that that interpretation is not according to Principle -- one cannot say that it takes as its object touch, etc, and thus, one should say that this mind merely takes as its objects the seeing and marks parts of that perception. . . . There are some who hold the principle that this interpretation also is not according to Principle. . . . [They say] one should say that this mind merely takes as its objects the store perception and its seeds. . . . There are some who hold the principle that the previous interpretations are all at odds with Principle. . . . [They say] one should know that this mind merely takes as its object the seeing part of the store perception and nothing else." (T 31, pp. 21c-22a) The last interpretation is that of Dharmapala and hence of the Fa-hsiang lineage.

[20] The Ch'eng wei-shih lun says: "Transformation means that the perception-substance evolves and seems to become two parts, because the marks [part] and the seeing [part] both rely on the own-sensation to arise. On the basis of

Because the sixth and seventh perceptions are covered by ignorance, taking these [i.e., the seeming self and seeming dharmas] as objects, they grasp them as a real self and real dharmas. It is like one who is ill (When one is seriously sick, the mind is beclouded and sees people and things in strange colors.) or one who is dreaming. (A dream can be remembered.) Because of the power of the illness or the dream, in the mind various seeming object-marks arise. Even though when dreaming [the mind] grasps them as really existent external things, when awakening comes, [the mind] knows that they are merely dream-transformations. That which is characterized as this body of mine and the external world are also like this, merely perception-transformations. Because of delusion, one grasps [the mistaken notion] that a self and various objects exist. Having awakened [to the realization that] ab-aeterno neither self nor dharmas have existed, that only

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these two parts, a self and dharmas is conventionally designated. Those two [i.e., the self and dharmas] apart from these [i.e., the marks part and the seeing part], have no basis. In other words, inner perception evolves and seems to become outer objects. Because of the power of vāsanā which discriminates a self and dharmas, when the various perceptions arise, they are transformed into a seeming self and dharmas. Although these self and dharma marks are in inner perception, because of discrimination seeming outer objects arise. Sentient-beings from beginningless time have taken these [i.e., the seeming self and seeming dharmas] as objects and grasped them as a real self and real dharmas. It is like one who is ill or one who is dreaming. . . ." (T 31, p. la-b)

mind has existed, one then relies on this wisdom of dual emptiness and cultivates such practices as the perception-only contemplation,[21] the six paramitas, and the four articles of attraction [saṃgraha-vastu].[22] Gradually one extinguishes the two hindrances of the depravities [kleśāvaraṇa] and objects of knowledge [jñeyāvaraṇa][23] and realizes the dual emptiness to reveal tathata. The ten [bodhisattva] stages[24] fill up completely, turning the

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[21]This is the five-tiered perception-only contemplation as systematized by Hsüan-tsang's disciple K'uei-chi in his Ta-ch'eng fa-yüan i-lin chang (T 45, pp. 258b-259a). The five tiers (wu-chung), ranging from shallow to deep, are: 1. the get-rid-of-the-unreal-and-preserve-the-real perception; 2. the set-aside-the-excess-and-detain-the-pure perception; 3. the gather-in-the-end-and-revert-to-the-basis perception; 4. the hide-the-inferior-and-reveal-the-superior perception; and 5. the get-rid-of-marks-and-reveal-the-Nature perception. The first four tiers get rid of the superimposed nature (parikalpita-svabhāva) and make the meditator return to the dependent-on-something-else nature (paratantra-svabhāva). In the last tier the meditator gets rid of the dependent-on-something-else nature and realizes the completely perfected nature (pariniṣpanna-svabhāva).

[22]These are the means by which a Buddha or bodhisattva attracts, draws to himself and to religious life, creatures: 1. giving; 2. speaking well; 3. conduct of benefit to others; and 4. adoption of the same religious aims for himself which he preaches to others. Some lists give the fourth as having the same joys and sorrows with others.

[23]See n. 26 in this section for these two terms.

[24]See Section 8/n.2.

eight perceptions into the awakening of the four knowledges.[25] Once the hindrances to tathata have been exhausted, the body of the dharma-nature and great nirvana actualize.[26]

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[25]The Ch'eng wei-shih lun says: "What are the minds associated with the four knowledges? The first is the mind associated with the great, perfect mirror knowledge. This means that this mind is free of all discriminations -- its objects and images are extremely fine and difficult to know. . . . It is like a great, perfect mirror which manifests images of various colors. The second is the mind associated with the sameness knowledge. This means that this mind views all dharmas, self and other, and all sentient-beings as the same. It is always associated with great compassion. . . . The third is the mind associated with the reflection knowledge. This means that this mind reflects rightly upon the self marks and general marks of all dharmas. . . . The fourth is the mind associated with the carrying-out-of-duty knowledge. This means that this mind, because it desires to benefit and bring joy to all sentient-beings, everywhere in the ten directions manifests various magical creations of the three karmas, in order to carry out those things which the power of the original vow should do. . . . These [four knowledges] are obtained by turning over, respectively, the eighth, seventh, sixth, and five [sense] perceptions. The knowledges are not the perceptions and yet they are grounded in perception-transformation. Because the perceptions are the ruler, we speak of turning over the perceptions and obtaining [the knowledges]. Furthermore, in the with-outflows position, the knowledges are inferior and the perceptions are strong. In the without-outflows position, the knowledges are strong and the perceptions are inferior. In order to encourage sentient-beings to rely on the knowledges and eject the perceptions, we speak of turning over the eight perceptions and obtaining these four knowledges." (T 31, p. 56a-b)

[26]The Ch'eng wei-shih lun says: "Turning over [parāvṛtti] has two parts, turning over and ejecting and turning over and obtaining. Frequently practicing non-discriminative knowledge, one cuts off the two hindrances and coarsenesses [dauṣṭhulya] inside the root perception [i.e., the ālaya-vijñāna], and, therefore, one can turn over and eject the superimposed which is on the dependent-on-something-else-arisen and can turn over and obtain the completely perfected nature which is within the dependent-on-something-else-arisen. From turning over the depravities

The Principle spoken of in several tens of sutras such as the Saṃdhi-nirmocana[27] and several hundreds of fascicles of sastras [such as] the Yogā-[cāra-bhūmi][28] and the Vijñapti-mātratā-[siddhi][29] do not go beyond this

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one obtains great nirvana. Turning over the hindrance of objects of knowledge, one realizes unexcelled enlightenment. [This] establishes perception-only." (T 31, p. 51a)

[27]The Saṃdhi-nirmocana-sūtra emerged sometime between A.D. 200-400. This sutra is an "explanation of the secret meaning" (which is what its title means) behind the Buddha's words in the Prajñā-pāramitā-sūtras. Its principal themes are the ālaya-vijñāna and the three natures. It was first introduced to China through Guṇabhadra's translation in the mid-fifth century. Later translations were made by Bodhiruci (in the early sixth century), Paramārtha (a partial translation in the mid-sixth century), and Hsüan-tsang (in the mid-seventh century). Hsüan-tsang's rendering (T no. 676), of course, was the standard one in the Fa-hsiang lineage.

[28]This gigantic compendium discusses the seventeen stages of the practice of spiritual discipline, abhidharma, the ālaya-vijñāna, etc. According to Hsüan-tsang's translation (T no. 1579), it was "spoken by Maitreya bodhisattva" (mi-lei p'u-sa shuo), whose historicity is a matter of debate among scholars. The section dealing with the bodhisattva seems to have existed as an independent sutra and as such was translated twice into Chinese in the early fifth century (T nos. 1581 and 1582). One of the principal reasons Hsüan-tsang travelled to India was to obtain the complete text of the Yogācāra-bhūmi-śāstra.

[29]The Vijñapti-mātratā-siddhi-śāstra originally consisted of Vasubandhu's Triṃśikā accompanied by ten commentaries. Hsüan-tsang's translation (Ch'eng wei-shih lun/T no. 1585) is a synthesis of these commentaries (the opinion of each exegete is prefaced by "yu yi" ["There are some who hold the principle that . . . ."]). The views of Dharmapāla (530-61) are definitive.

[summary].[30] The three subdivisions [summarized] above are all the secret teaching which relies on the Nature and speaks of marks.

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[30]The Fa-hsiang lineage based itself upon six sutras and eleven sastras. See K'uei-chi's _Ch'eng wei-shih lun shu-chi_ (T 43, pp. 229c-230a). The name of the school (_fa-hsiang/dharma-lakṣana_) is derived from a chapter title in the _Saṃdhi-nirmocana-sūtra_, the "_i-ch'ieh fa-hsiang p'in_" (T 16, p. 693a).

26.

However, only the third [subdivision of the first teaching], the teaching which takes perception to negate objects, corresponds to the realization of stopping the unreal and cultivating mind of the Ch'an gate. Knowing that all external objects are empty, [this Ch'an realization] does not cultivate the real marks of external objects, but merely stops the unreal and cultivates mind. "Stopping the unreal" means to stop the unreal self and dharmas. "Cultivating mind" means to cultivate the mind of perception-only. Thus, it is identical to the perception-only teaching. Since it is identical with the Buddha [as recorded in such sutras as the Saṃdhi-nirmocana], how can [anyone] condemn their step-by-step gate[1] of stopping the unreal and gazing upon purity, sweeping away [dust] at all times, congealing mind and stabilizing mind, concentrating on one object, sitting in lotus-posture, regulating the body and regulating the breath, etc.? The Buddha encouraged and praised all such expedients. The Vimalakīrti says: "It is not necessary to sit."[2] It does not say: "It is necessary

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[1]The cultivation of mind of this Ch'an realization corresponds to the perception-only contemplation of the Fa-hsiang lineage.

[2]In the Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa, when the Buddha asks Śāriputra to go to Vimalakīrti and ask him about his sickness, Śāriputra replies: "World-honored One! I do not dare to visit him to ask about his sickness. Why?

not to sit." Sitting or not sitting depends upon what is a suitable response to a person's abilities. Congealing mind or letting mind take its own course depends upon the person's vāsanā-nature.[3] During the interval from the Great Emperor Kao-tsung to the court of Hsüan-tsung, the perfect-all-at-once-basic-lineage [yüan-tun pen-tsung] was not yet practiced in the North.[4] [In the North during that time] there was only the Ch'an master Shen-hsiu. He spread widely the step-by-step teaching and became the Dharma-ruler of the two capitals[5] and Teacher-of-the-gate to three emperors.[6] Everyone called [his school] the

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I remember I was once long ago in the forest doing quiet-sitting beneath a tree. Vimalakīrti came along and said to me: 'Śāriputra! That this is quiet-sitting is not necessarily so. Now, quiet-sitting means to manifest neither body nor mind in the three realms. This is quiet-sitting. . . .'" (T 14, p. 539c)

[3]"Congealing mind" refers to the practice of Northern Ch'an;" letting mind take its own course" probably refers to the Hung-chou house.

[4]The Emperor Kao-tsung reigned 650-83; the Emperor Hsüan-tsung 713-55. The Ch'an Chart says: "The southern lineage is the basic lineage [pen-tsung] which has transmitted the robe and the Dharma for several generations since Ts'ao-ch'i [Hui-]neng Ta-shih received the spoken purport of Bodhidharma. Later, because Shen-hsiu widely spread the step-by-step teaching in the North, in opposition to that, we speak of the 'southern lineage.'" (ZZ 2,15,5, p. 433L)

[5]Ch'ang-an and Loyang.

[6]These are the Empress Wu, the Emperor Chung-tsung, and the Emperor Jui-tsung.

the Bodhidharma lineage and yet it did not reveal the purport of "[mind] is Buddha" [chi-fo chih chih]. Ts'ao-ch'i [Hui-neng] and Ho-tse [Shen-hui] feared that the perfect lineage would die off and so they violently criticized such things as stabilizing mind, breath-control, etc. This was merely a case of getting rid of the disease and was not a case of getting rid of Dharma.[7] These expedients were precisely those which the great master, the fifth patriarch [Hung-jen], used in instructing. Each [of his disciples] was sanctioned as the "master of one direction."[8] Bodhidharma used the practice of wall-gazing [pi-kuan][9] to teach men how to pacify mind. He said: "Externally, stop all objects. Internally, make the mind free of 'panting.' When the mind is like a wall, one can enter the Path with it." Is this not a sitting-ch'an Dharma? Further, the Dharma-[trāta-]dhyāna-sūtra[10] in two fascicles, which

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[7]Paraphrase of the Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa, T 14, p. 545a.

[8]The Leng-chia shih-tzu chi quotes the lost Leng-chia jen-fa chih in listing the ten principal disciples of the fifth patriarch Hung-jen. Each of the these ten is called "a great man of one direction." (T 85, p. 1289c)

[9]The following seems to be the earliest explanation we have of Bodhidharma's "wall-gazing."

[10]The Dharma-[trāta-]dhyāna-sūtra was translated (Ta-mo-to-lo ch'an ching/T no. 618) about 413 by Buddhabhadra (359-429) at the request of Hui-yüan. Tsung-mi seems to have inherited his information concerning Buddha and Yaśas from the Li-tai fa-pao chi. This history lists Bodhidharmatrāta as the founding patriarch of Ch'an and says

was translated by [Hui-]yüan Kung of Mt. Lu and the two Indian monks Buddha and Yaśas, makes clear in detail the gate of sitting-ch'an and step-by-step expedients. [This sutra's] idea is no different from that of the disciples of T'ien-t'ai, [Chih-]hsien, and [Shen-]hsiu. The fourth patriarch [of Ch'an, Tao-hsin], for a period of several decades did not touch his ribs to a mat.[11] Thus we know whether a lineage is explicit or non-explicit by whether its views are deep or shallow. We do not take its practice or lack of practice of breath-control, etc., to ascertain whether the principles of its Dharma are biased or perfect. One merely applies antidotes in accordance with one's own disease. One must not praise this [for example, Hung-jen, the Dharma-[trāta-]dhyāna-sūtra,

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that he dispatched two of his disciples, Buddha and Yaśas, to go to China and spread the all-at-once teaching. It further states that these two Indian monks travelled to Tung-lin Monastery on Mt. Lu (Chiu-chiang hsien, Kiangsi), and, together with Hui-yüan, did the one-fascicle Ch'an-men ching translation (T 51, p. 180c). This is one of a number of inaccuracies in the Li-tai fa-pao chi, the history of the Ching-chung house of Ch'an located in Ch'eng-tu (Szechuan).

[11]The Li-tai fa-pao chi says: "He sat constantly day and night and did not lie down for more than sixty years. His ribs never touched a mat." (T 51, p. 181c) This passage is not found in Tao-hsin's biographies in either the Hsü kao-seng chuan (T 50, p. 606b) or in the Leng-chia shih-tzu chi (T 85, pp. 1686c-1289b). Tao-hsin studied for eight or nine years under the third patriarch and in 624 went to Mt. Shuang-feng. He remained there until his death in 652.

Tao-hsin, etc.] and condemn that [i.e., Shen-hsiu]. (Earlier I mentioned that there was a person who criticized me, saying: "Why do you encourage sitting-ch'an?" This is my answer.)

27.

The second is the secret teaching which negates marks and reveals the Nature. (According to the real, explicit meaning, false grasping is ab-aeterno empty and should not be further negated. The with-outflows dharmas are ab-aeterno the True-nature. The wonderful functions of the conditioned have never ceased. They also should not be negated. It was merely for the sake of a type of sentient-being who falsely grasps unreal marks, obstructs the True-nature[1] and [finds it] difficult to obtain dark awakening, that the Buddha [in such sutras as the _Prajñā-pāramitā_] did not sort out good and bad, impurity and purity, Nature and marks, but negated everything. Even though the True-nature and wonderful functions are not non-existent, the [Buddha in the _Prajñā-pāramitā_ and others] said that they were non-existent. This is the reason we call [this teaching] "secret." Though his intention lay in revealing the Nature, his words were a negation of marks and, hence, his intention was not manifest in his words. For this reason also, we call [this teaching] "secret.") This teaching says that, since in the previous [perception-only] teaching, the objects, which are transformations

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[1]Paramartha rendered "_pariniṣpanna-svabhāva_" as "_chen-shih hsing_." Hsüan-tsang used "_yüan-ch'eng shih hsing_."

of perception, are all unreal, how could the perception which transforms alone be real? Mind and objects are mutually supportive. They are empty but seem to exist. In other words, mind does not arise alone. It arises in dependence on objects. Objects do not arise alone. They arise from mind. If the mind is empty, then objects fade. If objects are extinguished, then the mind is empty. There has never been a mind without objects. There have never been objects without a mind. It is like seeing things in a dream. [To the dreamer] there seems to be a difference between the seer and the seen. In fact, they are equally unreal. Neither of them has any existence. The various perceptions and the various objects are also like this. This is because they both are dependent upon conditions and have no self-nature [niḥsvabhāva]. There has never been a dharma which did not originate by dependence. Therefore, among all dharmas, there are none which are not empty.[2] Whatever possesses marks is unreal.[3] Therefore, in emptiness there are no eyes, ears, nose, tongue, body, or mind.[4] There are no eighteen dhātu-s, or

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[2]From "There has never been" to "which are not empty" is a quotation from the Chung-lun (T 30, p. 33b).

[3]This line occurs in the Vajracchedikā-sūtra (T 8, p. 749a).

[4]The Prajñā-pāramitā-hṛdaya-sūtra says: "Therefore, in emptiness, there are no forms, no feelings, ideas, samskaras or perception. There are no eyes, ears, nose, tongue, body, or mind." (T 8, p. 848c)

twelve [members of the chain of] causation, or four truths, no knowledge and no perception,[5] no karma and no retribution, no practice and no realization. Samsara and nirvana are both like a mock show. Merely take not abiding in anything,[6] having no grasping and no attaching, as practice of the Path. The thousand-plus fascicles of the Prajñā-[pāramitā-]sūtras[7] in several sections, and the three sastras, the Madhyamaka,[8]

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[5]"No knowledge and no perception" also occurs in the Hṛdaya (T 8, p. 848c).

[6]The Vajracchedikā-sūtra says: "Therefore, Subhūti, the bodhisattvas, the great beings, should in this manner produce a pure mind. They should not produce a mind abiding in forms. They should not produce a mind abiding in sounds, smells, tastes, touchables, or dharmas. They should produce the mind abiding nowhere." (T 8, p. 749c)

[7]The Prajñā-pāramitā series of sutras emerged one after the other over a long period of time running from the first-century B.C. onward. Using the common name "Prajñā-pāramitā," they are usually distinguished by length in stanzas. Among the earliest and most basic is the Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñā-pāramitā (=T nos. 224 and 227). Later, there were enlargements such as the Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā (=T nos. 221, 222, and 223) and the Śatasāhasrikā (=T no. 220). From the third or fourth century on, shorter versions such as the Vajracchedikā and Prajñā-pāramitā-hṛdaya appeared. The earliest Chinese translation of a Prajñā-pāramitā was Chih-lu-chia-ch'en's rendering of the Aṣṭasāhasrikā in about A.D. 165 (Tao-hsing pan-jo ching/T no. 224).

[8]The Madhyamaka-kārikā is a work by Nāgārjuna (c. A.D. 150-250) in 449 verses. It systematically analyzes the categories of the Hinayanists and non-Buddhists and reduces every one of them to absurdity. Kumārajīva's translation of these verses (actually, only 445 verses) is accompanied by Piṅgala's commentary and is entitled the Chung-lun (T no. 1564). These first three sastras give Madhyamaka its name in China -- the San-lun ("Three Sastras") lineage.

the Śata,[9] and the [Shih-erh]men,[10] and the Kuang-pai[lun][11] and others all express this [teaching]. The [Ta]chih-tu lun[12] in one-hundred fascicles also expresses this Principle, but, since this sastra emphasizes comprehending non-grasping,[13] it includes both Mahayana and Hinayana teachings and is covertly identical to the last [teaching].)[14]

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[9]The Catuḥśataka is by Nāgārjuna's disciple Āryadeva. Kumārajīva's translation entitled Pai-lun (Śata-śāstra/ T no. 1569) and Hsüan-tsang's translation entitled Kuang pai-lun pen (Śata-śāstra-vaipulya/T no. 1570) correspond loosely to the first and second halves of the Catuḥśataka.

[10]The Shih-erh men lun (Dvādaśa-dvāra-śāstra or Dvādaśa-nikāya-śāstra/T no. 1568) is attributed to Nāgārjuna. The Chinese translator was Kumārajīva.

[11]See n. 9 of this section.

[12]The Ta chih-tu lun (Mahā-prajñā-pāramitā-śāstra/T no. 1509) is a commentary upon the Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā attributed to Nagarjuna. For an argument against Nāgārjuna's authorship, see Leon Hurvitz, Chih-I, pp. 67-68.

[13]Chi-tsang in his San-lun hsüan-i says that the Ta chih-tu lun takes the two knowledges (real knowledge and upāya knowledge) as its thesis but the Chung-lun, Pai-lun, and the Shih-erh men lun take the two truths as their thesis.

[14]The "last teaching" is the teaching which openly reveals that the True-mind is the Nature.

28.

This [second] teaching and the realization of cut off and nothing to rely upon of the Ch'an gate are identical. Since they are identical to what the World-honored-one has said and what the bodhisattvas have propagated, why is it that whenever Ch'an masters of the step-by-step gate and the followers of exegesis hear this teaching, they criticize it, saying: "It does away with cause and effect"?[1] The Buddha himself said that there is neither karma nor retribution, so how could this be a false view? If you say: "When the Buddha spoke these words, he had a deep idea [i.e., hidden or secret intention]," [I ask:] "Why is it that when the Ch'an gate [uses] these words [no karma, no retribution, etc.], there is no deep idea?" If you say: "I have investigated the awakening [of such-and-such Ch'an masters] and there is no deep idea," [I reply:] "You have met those who have misunderstood. You should criticize only the men. How can you criticize the Dharma?" The above two teachings [i.e., the first and second teachings]

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[1]Nāgārjuna encountered the same criticism from the Abhidharmikas of his time. The sixth verse of Chapter 24 ("Analysis of the Noble Truths") of his Madhyamaka-kārikā, speaking from the viewpoint of the critic, says: "[If you speak of] emptiness, you destroy the real existence of effect [i.e., retribution] and dharma and non-dharma and all worldly expression." Kumārajīva's rendering is: "The Dharma of emptiness ruins cause and effect [huai yin-kuo] and also ruins merit and demerit. It also destroys all worldly dharmas." In the following verses Nāgārjuna counterattacks with the doctrine of the two truths.

are in accordance with the Buddha's basic idea. Even though they do not conflict, in what later students [i.e., later than the Buddha][2] transmitted, there was a great deal of grasping the written word and missing the purport. In some cases, each grasped one view and denied [the view of] the others. In other cases, both were of little faith and too slow intellectually to understand. Therefore, the bodhisattvas Nāgārjuna[3] and Āryadeva[4] relied on the teaching which negates marks and spoke widely of the principle of emptiness. They negated this grasping of existence [on the part of "later students"] and enabled them to come to a penetrating understanding of True-emptiness. True-emptiness is an emptiness which does not go against existence.[5] The bodhisattvas Asaṅga[6] and Vasubandhu[7] relied

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[2]Presumably, the Abhidharmikas are meant.

[3]See Section 27/n.8.

[4]See Section 27/n.9.

[5]In this section Tsung-mi draws upon Fa-tsang's writings. Fa-tsang's Hua-yen i-ch'eng chiao-i fen-chi chang (=Hua-yen wu-chiao chang) says: "Question: If, by relying on the fact that the dependent-on-something-else has two principles, the various sastra-masters of the earlier period discussed either one principle or the other, drawing in the dependent-on-something-else without contradicting each other, why did sastra-masters of the later period, such as Bhāvaviveka and others, each grasp only one principle and negate each other? Answer: These confirm each other; they do not negate each other. Why? Sentient-beings in the end period [mo-tai] were gradual and dull in their abilities, and so, when they heard it

said that the dependent-on-something-else is the principle of [seeming-to-]exist, they did not comprehend that that is an existence which does not differ from emptiness. Therefore, they grasped it as that sort of existence [i.e., an existence which differs from emptiness]. For this reason, Bhāvaviveka and the others negated the [seeming-to-]exist of the dependent-on-something-else in order to make them arrive at the having-no-[nature of the dependent-on-something-else.] When they arrived at the ultimate having-no-[nature], then they obtained the [seeming-to-]exist of that dependent-on-something-else. If they did not arrive at thorough emptiness-of-nature, they would be unable to confirm the [seeming-to-]exist of the dependent-on-something-else. Therefore, in order to confirm the [seeming-to-]exist, [Bhāvaviveka and the others] negated the [seeming-to-]exist. Further, when those sentient-beings heard it said that the dependent-on-something-else is ultimately empty of nature, they did not comprehend that that is an emptiness which does not differ from existence. Therefore, they grasped it as that sort of emptiness [i.e., an emptiness which differs from existence]. For this reason, Dharmapāla and others negated the emptiness they spoke of in order to preserve maya-existence. Because maya-existence was set up, they could obtain that emptiness which does not differ from existence. This is because, if there is extinction, it is not True-emptiness. Therefore, in order to confirm emptiness, [Dharmapāla and the others] negated emptiness. Taking forms-are-identical-to-emptiness, Bhāvaviveka's principle is set up. Taking emptiness-is-identical-to-forms, Dharmapāla's principle is preserved. The two principles fuse, with the whole substance being completely taken in. If there were no sastra-masters of the later period whose two Principles interpenetrated with the whole substance snatching each other up, there would be no way to reveal the exceedingly deep Dharma of origination by dependence and the dependent-on-something-else nature. Therefore, mutual negation reverts to mutual confirmation." (T 45, p. 501a-b) The same theme is stated in Fa-tsang's Shih-erh men lun chih-i chi, T 42, p. 218b-c.

[6]Both Paramārtha's biography of Vasubandhu (T 50, p. 188b-c) and Hsüan-tsang's Ta-t'ang hsi-yü chi (fascicle 5) contain brief biographies of Asaṅga. The two biographies conflict in many particulars, but agree that Asaṅga was a native of Gandhāra in the northwest, that he frequently ascended to the abode of the Tuṣita gods (in the realm of desire) and was taught various Yogacara sastras by Maitreya bodhisattva, and that he subsequently explained them to others. Japanese scholars set his dates as c.390-480.

on the perception-only teaching and spoke widely of names and marks. They analyzed Nature and marks as different, impurity and purity as different, and negated this grasping of emptiness, enabling them to come to a penetrating understanding of True-existence [miao-yu]. True-existence is an existence which does not go against emptiness.[8] Although each writes of one principle, [i.e., True-emptiness or True-existence], [they form a] perfect whole.[9] Question: If [what you say] is so, why later were there sastra-masters such as Bhāvaviveka[10] and

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See Hattori Masaaki and Ueyama Shunpei, Ninshiki to Chōetsu (Yuishiki), p. 280.

[7]There are two theories concerning "Vasubandhu": 1. There was one Vasubandhu (c. 400-80), the younger brother of Asaṅga, who became famous for his Abhidharma-kośa and his skill in debating. He was subsequently led by his older brother into Mahayana and composed many Mahayana works (one of the most important of which is the Triṃśikā, T no. 1586) and commentaries on the works of Maitreya/Asaṅga; and 2. There were two Vasubandhus: One was a Yogacarin, Asaṅga's younger brother, and lived c. 320-80; the other was a Sarvāstivādin, compiler of the Abhidharma-kośa, and lived c. 400-80. In the second theory, Asaṅga's dates must be pushed back. See Sakurabe Hajime and Ueyama Shunpei, Sonzai no bunseki (Abidaruma), Bukkyō no shisō, 2 (Tokyo: Kadokawa shoten, 1969), pp. 153-59.

[8]See n.5 of this section.

[9]The vocabulary is again Fa-tsang's.

[10]While Candrakīrti (600-50) speaks of Bhāvaviveka, Śāntarakṣita (c. 725-88) and Kamalaśīla (c.740-95) call him Bhavya. The Chinese rendering Ch'ing-pien does not correspond exactly to either of these. Bhāvaviveka (500-70)

Dharmapāla[11] who negated each other? Answer: These [i.e., the emptiness of Bhāvaviveka and the existence of Dharmapāla] confirm each other [hsiang-ch'eng], they do not negate each other. Why? The reason is that scholars in the end period [mo-tai] were step-by-step and dull in their abilities and [one-sidedly] grasped either emptiness or existence. Bhāvaviveka and others negated [the view that] marks are really existent, enabling [those who grasped existence] to plumb the ultimate depth of True-emptiness.

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and Candrakīrti exhibited no interest in Dignāga's (480-540) consciousness theory, but they both responded to Dignāga's logic. Bhāvaviveka took it over completely and used it to "prove" Madhyamaka. Candrakīrti, on the other hand, opposed the new logic as utterly incompatible with Madhyamaka. Both were defenders of Madhyamaka against the powerful Yogacara school. The labels "Svātantrika" and "Prāsaṅgika" were not used by Bhāvaviveka, Candrakīrti, and the other middle Madhyamikas, but were probably coined later when the Tibetans were trying to understand and organize the various schools of Indian Buddhism. In his Karatalaratna (translated by Hsüan-tsang) Bhāvaviveka criticizes the tathata of the Yogacarins: "If one says that even though tathata is divorced from speech, it is really existent, then it is the atman of the heretics [i.e., Brahmanists] -- concepts and distinctions are said to be tathata . . . from the standpoint of absolute truth, such distinctions as existent and non-existent do not hold." (T 30, p. 275a) For a discussion of middle Madhyamaka, see Kajiyama Yūichi and Ueyama Shunpei, Kū no ronri (Chūkan), pp. 143-163.

[11]See Chapter Four of the Introduction. At the beginning of the Ch'eng wei-shih lun Dharmapāla criticizes the emptiness of the Madhyamikas: "Further, there are those who are deluded about the perception-only Principle. Some grasp [the erroneous view that] external objects like perception is not non-existent. Some [i.e., Madhyamikas] grasp [the erroneous view that] internal perception like objects is not existent. . . . In order to check these

This confirmed the origination by dependence and True-existence of the other [i.e., Dharmapāla]. Dharmapāla and others negated the biased emptiness of annihilation. Their intention lay in True-existence. Because True-existence is preserved, this is identical to the no-nature and True-emptiness of the other [i.e., Bhāvaviveka]. The texts negate each other, but their ideas confirm each other. (Here the previously mentioned doubt about the controversy between the southern and northern Ch'an gates has been resolved.)

There are two principles to True-existence and True-emptiness.[12] The first is the principle of mutual contradiction in the extreme. This means that they clash and are

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various erroneous graspings and enable them to obtain a correct understanding of the deep, true Principle of perception-only, I have made this sastra." (T 31, p. 1a) For Dharmapāla and Bhāvaviveka, see Sebun Fukaura, "Controversy between Dharmapāla and Bhāvaviveka," Ryūkoku Daigaku ronshū, 345 (1952), pp. 11-25.

[12] Fa-tsang's Shih-erh men lun tsung chih-i chi says: "Due to the Dharma of origination by dependence, there are two principles to māya-existence and True-emptiness. The first is mutual agreement in the extreme. This means that they darkly fuse into one mark and the whole substance is completely taken in. The second is mutual contradiction in the extreme. This means that they clash and are completely snatched up and eternally exhausted. If they did not snatch each other up and completely exhaust each other, there would be no way for the whole substance to be completely drawn in. Therefore, contradiction in the extreme is agreement in the extreme. Because Nāgarjuna and Asaṅga accorded with the gate of agreement in the extreme, they did not negate each other. Because Bhāvaviveka and Dharmapāla accorded with the gate of contradiction in the extreme, it was necessary for them to negate each other.

completely snatched up and eternally exhausted [ch'üan-to yung-chin]. The second is the principle of mutual agreement in the extreme. This means that they mysteriously fuse into one mark and the whole substance is completely taken in [chü-t'i ch'üan-she]. If they did not snatch each other up and completely exhaust each other, there would be no way for the whole substance to be completely drawn in [chü-t'i ch'üan-shou]. Thus, contradiction in the extreme is agreement in the extreme. Because Nāgārjuna and Asaṅga accorded with the gate of agreement in the extreme, they confirmed each other. Because Bhāvaviveka and Dharmapāla accorded with the gate of contradiction in the extreme, they negated each other. Contradiction and agreement are self-existent. Confirmation and negation are unobstructed. Thus, within all dharmas there are none which are not brought together. Alas! In this land [i.e., China] later scholars of the sutras and sastras of these two lineages[13] denied and criticized each other as if they were mutual enemies. When will they attain the patient acceptance of dharmas which fail to be produced [anutpattika-dharma-

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Because contradiction and agreement are unobstructed, it is origination by dependence. Therefore, the earlier and the later do not contradict each other." (T 42, p. 218c)

[13] Refers to the San-lun and Fa-hsiang lineages.

kṣānti]?[14] Today's all-at-once and step-by-step Ch'anists are the same way. Exert effort to penetrate the mirror. Do not be biased.

Question: Since for the former worthies of the western regions, mutual negation was identical to mutual confirmation, how can it be that in this land mutual negation becomes mutual jealously? Answer: It is like peoples' drinking water. They themselves know whether it is cool or warm. Everyone [must] contemplate mind. Everyone [must] investigate thoughts. [The former worthies of the western regions] left behind the medicine to cure the disease, but [some in this land] have not become healthy men. They set up a Dharma to ward off error, but some have not become worthies.

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[14]See Har Dayal, The Bodhisattva Doctrine in Buddhist Sanskrit Literature, p. 213.

29.

The third is the teaching which openly reveals that the True-mind is the Nature. (It points directly [to the realization that] self-mind is the True-nature. It does not reveal in terms of "real" marks, nor does it reveal by negating marks.[1] This is why [I used the phrase] "is the Nature." Since there is no idea here of expedients or of a secret [teaching], [I used the phrase] "openly reveals.") This teaching says that all sentient-beings possess the True-mind of emptiness and calmness, from without beginning intrinsically pure. (It is not a case of becoming pure by cutting off the depravities and so I said intrinsically pure. The Ratna-gotra-śāstra says: "There are two kinds of purity. The first is intrinsic purity and the second is the purity [which results from] the removal of defilement."[2] The Śrīmālā says: "The intrinsically pure mind is difficult to understand. This mind stained by the depravities is also difficult to understand."[3] Comment: This mind transcends the principles

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[1]The first teaching reveals in terms of "real" marks and the second reveals by negating marks.

[2]Paraphrase of the Ratna-gotra-śāstra, T 31, p. 830c.

[3]T 12, p. 222 c.

of the two previous lineages of emptiness and existence and that is why it is difficult to understand.) Bright and never darkening, complete and constant Knowing. (From here down I quote the Buddha's sermon.) Exhausting the limit of the future, always abiding and never extinguishing, we call it the Buddha-nature. It is also called the tathagatagarbha or the mind-ground. (This mind is what Bodhidharma transmitted.) From beginningless time unreal thoughts form a screen over it, so that, never self-realized, it sinks into samsara. The Greatly-awakened One, feeling sadness at this, appears in the world in order to say that all the dharmas of samsara are empty, and to openly reveal that this mind is identical to all of the Buddhas. It is as the Ch'u-hsien pin [=the Tathāgatotpatti-sambhava-nirdeśa] of the Avataṃsaka-sūtra[4] says: "Buddha-sons, there is not one sentient-being who does not possess the wisdom of the Tathagata. But, sentient-beings do not realize [that they possess it] because of unreal thoughts and grasping. If unreal thoughts are removed, then complete wisdom, spontaneous wisdom, unobstructed wisdom, will appear. [Let me provide] an analogy. There exists a great sutra-roll (analogous to the Buddha's wisdom). In size it is

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[4]From this point to the end of the line "it narrates the events [happening] in these three-thousand great-thousand of worlds, exhausting all of them," is a close paraphrase of the T'ang Avataṃsaka, T 10, p. 272c.

three-thousand great-thousand of worlds. (The knowledge substance is without limit; it circulates throughout the dharmakaya.) It narrates the events [happening] in these three-thousand great-thousand of worlds, exhausting all of them. (This is analogous to the fact that ab-aeterno merits as numberless as the grains of sand of the Ganges have existed on the Substance.) In spite of the fact that this great sutra-roll is a great-thousand of worlds in size, it exists in its entirety within one speck of dust. (This is analogous to the fact that the Buddha's wisdom exists in its entirety within the body of [every] sentient-being, perfect and complete.) I have made an example of one speck of dust (one sentient-being), but this applies to all specks of dust. Once there was a man whose wisdom was clear and comprehensive (analogous to the World-honored-one). Having brought to perfection the pure eye of the gods, he saw the sutra-roll within the speck of dust. (The eye of the gods cuts through obstacles to see forms, just as the eye of the Buddha cuts through the depravities to see Buddha knowledge.) [Hidden within the speck of dust, the sutra-roll] was not of the least benefit to sentient-beings. (When [sentient-beings] are deluded, none of them obtains this ability, there are none which are not separated from it, etc.) [The wise man then] produces expedients with which to break open that speck of dust (just as [the Buddha] proclaims the Dharma in order to

destroy the hindrances). He brings out this great sutra which enables all sentient-beings to obtain abundant benefit (etc.). The same holds true for the wisdom of the Tathagata. Immeasurable, without obstruction, it can benefit all sentient-beings everywhere. (This is analogous to the fact that [the sutra] narrates the events happening in the three-thousand worlds.) [Yet it exists] perfect and complete within the body of every sentient-being. (This is analogous to the fact that [the sutra-roll is contained within each and every] speck of dust.) But ordinary people engage in the unreal thoughts and grasping. Unaware, unawakened, they do not obtain benefit. It is then that the Tathagata, gazing upon all sentient-beings in the dharma-dhātu with his unobstructed, pure wisdom eye, says[5]: "Strange! Strange! Why is it that, even though all these sentient-beings possess the wisdom of the Tathagata, [they continue in] ignorance and delusion, not knowing and not seeing? I will teach them the noble path which will free them forever from unreal thoughts and grasping, enabling them to come to see the great wisdom of the Tathagata within their own bodies, not different from

[5]From this point to the end of the line "which benefits and brings peace to all sentient-beings," is a very close paraphrase of the T'ang Avataṃsaka, T 10, pp. 272c–273a.

that of a Buddha. He then teaches those sentient-beings how to practice the noble path (the six paramitas and the thirty-seven parts of the Way) which will free them from unreal thoughts. Once free of unreal thoughts, they will realize the immeasurable wisdom of the Tathagata, which benefits and brings peace to all sentient-beings."

Question: You spoke earlier of intrinsically complete and constant Knowing. Why is it necessary, then, for the Buddhas to show it [to sentient-beings]? Answer: The word "Knowing" here is not realization-knowing [cheng-chih]. The idea is that the True-nature is different from the sky or a tree or a stone and so we say it is Knowing.[6] [Knowing] is not like the perceptions which discriminate objects.[7] It is not like the Knowing which illuminates the substance and comprehends. It is just tathata which is intrinsically Knowing. Therefore, Asvaghosa bodhisattva said: "The self-substance of tathata is real Knowing."[8] The Hui-hsiang p'in of the Avatamsaka also says: "Tathata or

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[6]In his Yen-i ch'ao Ch'eng-kuan states: "Now, to say that the True-mind of Knowing [ling-chih chen-hsin] is different from a tree or a stone means that it penetrates both the realizer and the realized." (T 36, p. 261b)

[7]This refers to the eight perceptions of the teaching which takes perception to negate objects.

[8]Paraphrase of the Ch'i-hsin lun, T 32, p. 579a.

Illumination is the Nature."[9] Also the Wen-ming p'in[10] differentiates between knowing and Knowing. knowing is limited to the sages; ordinary men do not possess it. Knowing is possessed by both ordinary men and the sages; it penetrates both Principle and knowing. Therefore, nine bodhisattvas, including Awakened-head, asked Mañjuśrī: "What is the knowing of the Buddha's realm (the knowing of awakening)? What is the Knowing of the Buddha's realm (the True-mind which exists ab-aeterno)?"[11] Mañjuśrī answered the question about knowing in these words: "The knowing of all the Buddhas is self-existent, never obstructed by anything in the three times."[12] (It comprehends all events in the past, future, and present, and so we say it is self-existent and unobstructed.) In answer to the question about Knowing, he said:[13] "It is not something which perception can perceive. (One cannot take perception to perceive [Knowing]; perceiving belongs

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[9]This quotation has not been traced.

[10]In the Wen'ming p'in of the Avataṃsaka (T 10, pp. 66a-69b) a number of bodhisattvas ask questions of Mañjuśrī.

[11]Avataṃsaka-sūtra, T 10, p. 69a.

[12]Avataṃsaka-sūtra, T 10, p. 69a.

[13]Mañjuśrī's answer, interspersed with Tsung-mi's own comments, extends to the end of the line "is open to all sentient-beings." Avataṃsaka-sūtra, T 10, p. 69a.

to discrimination. Discrimination is not tathata. Tathata is only seen in no-mindfulness.) Knowing is not an object of the mind. (One cannot take knowing to Know. This means that if one could take knowing to realize Knowing, then Knowing would be an object which had been realized. Because True-Knowing is not an object, one cannot take knowing to realize it. If one, even for a split second, raises an illuminated mind, then it is not Knowing. Therefore, the sutra says: "If the self-mind grasps the self-mind, then, that which is non-illusory becomes an illusory dharma."[14] The sastra says: "Mind cannot see mind."[15] Ho-tse Ta-shih said: "If one deliberates with his mind, then he is in error."[16] This is why the northern lineage's "looking at mind" [k'an-hsin] misses the true purport. If mind could be looked at, then it would be an object. Therefore this [i.e., Mañjuśrī's quotation above] said that it is not an object of the mind.) The Nature is ab-aeterno pure. (It does not become pure after the removal of defilement and depravities. It does not become pure after

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[14]The Śūramgama-sūtra, T 19, p. 124c. The translation is tentative.

[15]The Ch'i-hsin lun, T 32, p. 577b.

[16]This line does not occur in Shen-hui's T'an-yü or in his Ting shih-fei lun.

the removal of obstruction and turbulence. This is why it is said to be ab-aeterno pure. The Ratna-gotra-śāstra calls the purity which does not require the removal of defilement intrinsic purity. This is why it is said that the Nature is ab-aeterno pure.) [Knowing] is open to all sentient-beings." (It has already been said that it is ab-aeterno pure, that it does not require the cutting off of obstructions, and thus we know that all sentient-beings have always possessed it. But, because of a screen of delusion, they are not self-Knowing. Therefore, the Buddha shows them and enables them all to awaken and enter. Thus, the Saddharma-puṇḍarīka speaks of opening up and awakening to the Knowing-seeing of the Buddha.[17] According to this quotation, the only reason the Buddha appeared in the world was to accomplish this task. That [i.e., the Saddharma-puṇḍarīka] speaks of obtaining purity; this is the purity [which results from] the removal of defilements in the Ratna-gotra. Although this mind is intrinsically pure, one must always be awakened to it and cultivating it. Only then will the Nature and marks be perfectly pure. Therefore, a number of sutras and sastras speak of the two types of purity and the two types of liberation. Among present day people whose learning is shallow, some are aware only of the purity [which

[17]T 9, p. 7a.

results from] the removal of defilements and the liberation [which results from] the removal of obstructions, and so they criticize the doctrine of "mind is Buddha" of the Ch'an gate. Others, knowing only intrinsic purity and the liberation [coming from awakening to] intrinsic purity, make light of the doctrinal formulations of the teachings and denounce the practice of the precepts, sitting-ch'an, breath-control, etc. [These people] do not know that one must all-at-once awaken to intrinsic purity [to attain] the intrinsic liberation and engage in step-by-step cultivation so as to attain the purity [which results from] the removal of defilements and the liberation [resulting from] the removal of obstructions, becoming perfectly pure and ultimately liberated. Free from obstructions in both mind and body, one is then identical to Śākyamuni Buddha.) The Pao-tsang lun says: "If you know existence, existence destroys. If you know non-existence, non-existence ruins. (These are both the knowing which knows existence or non-existence.) The Knowing of this Knowing does not make any distinction between existence and non-existence."[18] (Making

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[18]Paraphrase of the Pao-tsang lun, T 45, p. 144a. This work is attributed to Seng-chao (374-414), but it seems to have been compiled sometime during the eighth century. It shows influence from such Taoist works as the Pen-chi ching and begins in imitation of the Tao-te ching: "The śūnyatā that can be śūnyatā-ed is not True-śūnyatā; the rūpa that can be rūpa-ed is not True-rūpa. . . ." (T 45, p. 143b) See Kamata Shigeo, Chūgoku Kegon shisō shi no kenkyū, p. 375.

no distinction between existence and non-existence, it is the Knowing which is intrinsically non-discriminative.) Thus, it is shown that the mind of Knowing [ling-chih] is the True-nature, no different from the Buddha. Thus, this is called the teaching which openly reveals that the True-mind is the Nature. Over forty sections of such sutras as the Avataṃsaka,[19] the Ghana-vyūha,[20] the Yüan-chüeh,[21] the

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[19]The Avataṃsaka-sūtra emerged A.D. 200-400. It is a collection of sutras which were not compiled all at once. Two complete Chinese translations exist: one by Buddhabhadra during the Eastern Chin (T no. 278/called the "sixty-fascicle Hua-yen," "Chin Hua-yen," "old translation Hua-yen"); and one by Śikṣānanda during the T'ang (T no. 279/called the "eighty-fascicle Hua-yen," "T'ang Hua-yen," "new translation Hua-yen"). Two chapters, the Shih-ti p'in (Daśabhūmika) and the Ju fa-chieh p'in (Dharma-dhātu-praveśa/=Gaṇḍavyūha) are probably the oldest of the collection. The former was separately translated as an independent sutra three times (T nos. 285, 286, and 287); the latter was also separately translated as an independent sutra three times (T nos. 293, 294, and 295). T no. 293, a translation done by Prajña during the T'ang, is an enlargement of the Ju fa-chieh p'in (it is called the "forty-fascicle Hua-yen" or the "P'u-hsien hsing-yüan p'in").

[20]See Section 18/n.9.

[21]The Ta fang-kuang yüan-chüeh hsiu-to-lo liao-i ching (T no. 842) purports to be a translation done by Buddhatrāta (no others are attributed to him) in 693. It is probably a Chinese composition. Because it is recorded in the K'ai-yüan shih-chiao mu-lu (T 55, p. 564c), it was in existence by the K'ai-yüan era (713-41), and, since it is not mentioned in the Ta-chou hsing-ting chung-ching mu-lu (T no. 2153), it was probably composed after 695. Its prototypes seem to have been the Śūraṃgama-sūtra and the Ch'i-hsin lun.

Śūraṃgama,[22] the Śrīmālā,[23] the Tathāgatagarbha,[24] the Saddharma-puṇḍarīka,[25] and the Nirvāṇa,[26] and fifteen sections of such sastras as the Ratna-gotra,[27] the

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[22]Kumārajīva's translation of a Śūraṃgama-sūtra (the Fo-shuo shou-leng-yen san-mei ching/T no. 642) is called the "old" version. Pramiti's much longer translation (the Ta fo-ting ju-lai mi-yin hsiu-cheng liao-i chu p'u-sa wan-hsing shou-leng-yen ching/T no. 945), done during the T'ang, is included within the tantric section of the T. Tsung-mi's quotations are from the latter.

[23]The Śrīmālā-sūtra, a work which discusses the tathagatagarbha, emerged A.D. 200-400. Two Chinese translations are extant -- one by Guṇabhadra in the fifth century (T no. 353) and one by Bodhiruci during the T'ang (T no. 310).

[24]The Tathāgata-garbha-sūtra emerged A.D. 200-400. Two Chinese translations are extant -- one by Buddhabhadra during the Eastern Chin (T no. 666) and one by Amoghavajra during the T'ang (T no. 667).

[25]The Saddharma-puṇḍarīka emerged around the beginning of the Christian era. It is said that there were six Chinese translations, three of which have been lost. The three extant are by Dharmarakṣa during the Western Chin (T no. 263), by Kumārajīva during the Later Ch'in (T no. 262), and by Jñānagupta and Dharmagupta during the Sui (T no. 264).

[26]The Nirvāṇa-sūtra emerged A.D. 200-400 and was translated into Chinese in the early fifth century by Dharmarakṣa (T no. 374). This is called the "northern edition" (pei-pen). Hui-yen (a disciple of Kumārajīva) and others (including the poet Hsieh Ling-yün) reworked T no. 374 without consulting Sanskrit manuscripts. They made many changes, principally in simplifying difficult expressions. This is called the "southern text" (nan-pen/T no. 375).

[27]The Ratna-gotra-sāstra (also known as the Uttara-tantra-śastra) discusses the tathagatagarbha. According

Buddha-gotra,[28] the Ch'i-hsin,[29] the Daśabhūmika,[30] the Dharmadhātuviśeṣa,[31] and the Nirvāṇa[32] base themselves on the revealed Dharma-substance and hence belong to this

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to the K'ai-yüan shih-chiao mu-lu (T 55, pp. 540b and 541a-b) there were two translations in the early sixth century, by Ratnamati (T no. 1611) and by Bodhiruci. The latter has been lost. Ratnamati's translation does not give the author's name, but, according to Fa-tsang in his Ta-ch'eng fa-chieh wu ch'a-pieh lun shu (T 44, p. 63c), Chien-hui bodhisattva (Fa-tsang transliterates his name as So-lo-mo-ti=Sāramati?) from Central India wrote the Ratna-gotra, the Dharmadhātuviśeṣa, and others. For a discussion of the name "Sāramati," see Ui Hakuju, Hōshōron kenkyū (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1959), pp. 89-97.

28The Buddha-gotra-śāstra is known only through a Chinese translation done by Paramārtha in the mid-sixth century (the Fo-hsing lun/T no. 1610). Paramārtha attributes the sastra to Vasubandhu, but there is some doubt concerning Vasubandhu's authorship.

29Section 11/n.5 and Section 17/n.3. T contains two versions, one listed as a translation by Paramārtha (T no. 1666) and the other listed as a translation by Śikṣānanda during the T'ang (T no. 1667).

30The Daśabhūmika-sūtra-śāstra was translated by "Bodhiruci and others" during the early sixth century (T no. 1522). It is a commentary on the Daśabhūmika-sūtra attributed to Vasubandhu (see no. 19 in this section).

31The Dharmadhātuviśeṣa-śāstra is known only through two Chinese translations, both attributed to Devaprajña during the T'ang (T nos. 1626 and 1627). The translations list Chien-hui (=Sāramati?) as the author. T no. 1627 mentions that it is also known as the Tathāgata-garbha-śāstra.

32The Nirvāṇa-śāstra (also known as the Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra-śāstra) is recorded as a translation by Dharmabodhi (no others are attributed to him) during the Eastern Wei. The translation lists Vasubandhu as the author, but it may be a Chinese composition.

teaching, though there are some differences [among them] concerning all-at-once versus step-by-step. [This teaching] is identical to the third realization of the Ch'an gate, the one which directly reveals the mind-nature.

30.

Since Aśvaghoṣa designated mind as the Original-source[1] and Mañjuśrī designated Knowing as the True-substance,[2] why does the party which negates marks[3] speak only of calmness-extinction and never of True-Knowing? Why does the party which discusses marks[4] hold to the erroneous view that the common man is different from the noble one, not allowing [the Ch'an teaching that] "mind is Buddha"? The scheme for classifying the teachings of the Buddha which I have just set up is for precisely these people. Earlier I said[5] that most of those in the western regions who transmitted mind were also proficient in the sutras and sastras --the road of non-duality. It was merely because this land [i.e., China] was deluded about mind and grasped the written word, [mis-] took the name for the substance, that Bodhidharma's skillful means was to select the phrase "transmission of mind." He raised a name ("Mind" is a name.), but was silent about the substance

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[1]That is, the Ch'i-hsin lun takes the One-mind as the basis of its teaching.

[2]This refers to the P'u-sa wen-ming p'in of the Avataṃsaka-sūtra (T 10, pp. 66a-69b) mentioned in the previous section.

[3]This refers to the San-lun lineage.

[4]This refers to the Fa-hsiang lineage.

[5]In Section 11.

(Knowing is the substance.). In the same manner he took "wall-gazing"[6] (mentioned above) to enable people to cut off all object-supports.

Question: When one has cut off all object-supports, is that not annihilation [uccheda]?[7] Answer: Although one cuts off all thoughts, it is not annihilation.

Question: What proof is there to say that it is not annihilation? Answer: Complete Knowing -- words cannot reach it. The master [Bodhidharma], when sealing [his disciples], said: "This alone is the intrinsically pure mind. Have no further doubts."[8] If this answer did not register, merely in order to cut off all errors, he ordered them to engage in further reflection. To the very end, [Bodhidharma] did not give others the previously mentioned

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[6]See Section 26 for an explanation of Bodhidharma's "wall-gazing."

[7]The Chung-lun says: "Really existent is attachment to eternity. Really non-existent is attachment to annihilation. Therefore, the wise one should not be attached to existence and non-existence. [Piṅgala's commentary says:] If dharmas really have existence, then they would never have non-existence. This is eternity. Why? In terms of the three times, in the future there exists a dharma and this dharma comes to the present and progresses into the past, without losing its original mark. This is eternity. In other words, that the effect already exists in the cause -- this is eternity. If one says that [dharmas are] really non-existent, this non-existence must previously have been existent and now is non-existent. This is annihilation. Annilation is called no-continuity. Due to these two views, one is far divorced from the Buddha-dharma." (T 30, p. 10b)

[8]The phrase "tzu-hsing ch'ing-ching hsin" (prakṛti-pariśuddha-citta/"intrinsically pure mind") does not occur in Bodhidharma's Erh-ju ssu-hsing lun.

character "Knowing." He simply waited for them to awaken on their own and to personally experience the real. Only when they had realized the Substance for themselves did he seal them, cutting off remaining doubts. This is why [his teaching] was called "silent transmission of the mind-seal." The word "silent" [meant] only that he was silent about the character "Knowing," not that he eschewed all words. For six generations of transmission, [all the patriarchs] followed this pattern. But by the time of the Ho-tse [Shen-hui], other lineages were spreading conflicting doctrines. [Even though Shen-hui] desired to seek a silent bond, the conditions were not opportune. Further, meditating on Bodhidharma's prediction about the hanging thread[9] (Bodhidharma had said: "After the sixth generation, the fate of my Dharma will be like a hanging thread."), he feared that the purport of [Bodhidharma's] lineage would be cut off. Consequently, he spoke [the phrase]: "The one character 'Knowing' is the gate of all infinitesimals."[10] He trusted that students would awaken to this phrase in a deep or shallow manner. In other words, his plan was to

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[9]This prediction was probably fabricated by Ho-tse Shen-hui. See Kamata Shigeo, Zengen shosenshū tojo, pp. 144 and 280-81.

[10]See Section 24/n.8.

insure that the teaching of [Bodhidharma's] lineage would not be cut off. Also, the fortunes of the great Dharma in this country had arrived at the point where a type of worldly person [who talks about the] Path [i-lei tao-su] was being heard everywhere. Thus, [Shen-hui] responded in this fashion. [Bodhidharma's] silent transmission was unknown to others, and so he [passed on] the robe as [the seal of] faith.[11] [Shen-hui's] revealed transmission was easily comprehensible to students. He merely dispelled doubts through the spoken word. Since it has already been put into words, is it necessary to quote the sutras and sastras as proof? (A previously mentioned objection was: "Do those who at present transmit the Dharma speak secret words or not? I have now answered this question. The Dharma [has always been] Bodhidharma's Dharma. Therefore, those who hear it, whatever their abilities may be, are all benefitted. The only [difference is that], in the past, it was secret, whereas today it is revealed. Thus, it is not named [a Dharma] of secret words. Just because the name is [now] different [from what it was in Bodhidharma's time] does not imply that the Dharma is also different.)

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[11] See Section 5/n.4.

31.

Question: Once one has awakened to this [intrinsically pure] mind, how does one cultivate it? Does one come back to reliance on the command to practice sitting-ch'an [contained] within the first teaching, the one which speaks of marks?[1] Answer: There are two ideas here. When one is prone to strong emotions which are difficult to control, such as heavy depression and extreme excitability, covetousness and anger, etc., then one [must] make use of the various expedients [contained] within the earlier teaching, regulating according to the disease. [However,] if one's depravities are quite weak and one's intellect is sharp, then he relies on the one-mark samadhi of the basic teaching and the basic [Ch'an] realization.[2] As the Ch'i-hsin says: "To practice tranquillization, dwell in a quiet place, straighten the body, and correct the mind, relying on neither breath nor bodily form, until you reach mind-only, without external sense objects."[3] The Chin-kang san-mei

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[1]"The command to practice sitting-ch'an [contained] within the first teaching" refers to the four dhyanas/eight samadhis and the five-tiered perception-only contemplation.

[2]The basic teaching is the third, the teaching which openly reveals that the True-mind is the Nature. The basic Ch'an realization is the third, the realization of directly revealing the mind-nature.

[3]Paraphrase of the Ch'i-hsin lun, T 32, p. 582a.

says: "Ch'an is movement. No movement, then no Ch'an. This is non-arising Ch'an."[4] The Fa-chü ching says: "If one studies the various samadhis, it is movement, not sitting-ch'an -- the mind follows along in the flow of sense objects. How can that be called concentration?"[5] The Vimalakīrti says: "To engage in all activities (walking, standing, sitting, and lying) without rising from the extinction attainment, to manifest neither body nor mind in the three realms -- this is quiet-sitting."[6] [This is a samadhi which] the Buddha sealed. According to this [samadhi], once one has comprehended that the three realms are like a flower in the sky,[7] that the four forms of birth[8]

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[4]Paraphrase of the Chin-kang san-mei ching, T 9, p. 368a. This sutra, which shows influence from Bodhidharma's Erh-ju ssu-hsing lun, is thought to have been compiled in China during the eighth century. See Mizuno Kōgen, "Bodaidaruma no niju shigyō setsu to Kongō zammaikyō," Komazawa Daigaku Bukkyō gakubu kenkyū kiyō, 13 (March, 1955), pp. 33-57.

[5]T 85, p. 1435a. This sutra is thought to have been compiled in China during the first half of the seventh century. See Mizuno Kōgen, "Gisaku no Hōku kyō ni tsuite," Komazawa Daigaku Bukkyō gakubu kenkyū kiyō, 19 (March, 1961), pp. 11-33.

[6]Paraphrase of the Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa, T 14, p. 539c.

[7]See Section 20/n.1.

[8]1. Born from an embryo; 2. born from an egg; 3. born from wetness; and 4. an incarnation, something which comes into existence from itself without arising from another.

are like a bed of dreams, then, grounded in the Substance, he gives rise to practice; he cultivates and yet there is no cultivating. Dwelling in neither Buddha nor mind, who is [the talker] who talks about higher realms and lower realms? (A previous objection was that, according to the teachings, one must draw upon the samadhis of the upper realms in order to steal a peek into the heavens. [The person who presented this objection] has grasped the words of only one lineage. Having seen this principle of the explicit teaching, he should feel shame and withdraw.)

32.

Within this teaching [i.e., the third teaching] the One true mind-nature faces all dharmas, both defiled and pure, and [can be] completely selected out or [can] completely include [all dharmas]. "To be completely selected out" means, as discussed above, personal,[1] direct pointing to [the realization that] Knowing is the mind-nature and all else is unreal. This is why it is said that Knowing is not something which the perceptions can perceive, that it is not an object of mind, that it is neither the Nature nor marks, that it is neither Buddha nor sentient-beings, that it is apart from the four alternatives and cuts off the hundred negations.[2] "To completely include" means that, of all dharmas, both defiled and pure, there are none which are not mind; when mind is deluded, it falsely produces depravities and karma, [which in turn lead] to the four forms

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[1] Iriya, trans., Denshin hōyō, p. 11, says that ko-t'i corresponds more or less to the German an sich. I would suggest "pratyātma" ("by one's own self," "personal realization"). The compound appears again in Section 40.

[2] The four alternatives are: that something is, is not, both is and is not, neither is nor is not. See Section 27/n.8. Chi-tsang in his San-lun hsüan-i says: "If one discusses nirvana, in substance it cuts off the hundred negations and in Principle it transcends the four alternatives." (T 45, p. 6a)

of birth, the six paths, and the defiled worlds; when mind is awakened, from its Substance it produces activities [such as] the four perfect states [brahma-vihāra],[3] the six paramitas, up to the four accurate understandings [pratisaṃvid],[4] the ten powers,[5] and the pure lands of wonderful bodies. All of these are its manifestations. Because this mind manifests all dharmas, every single dharma is identical to this True-mind. [Let me provide several] analogies. All of the events which occur in a dream happen to the dreamer himself. When gold is made into [a number of] utensils, each and every utensil is still the gold. With reflections in a mirror, every reflection is still the mirror. (The dream corresponds to unreal thoughts and karmic retribution; the utensils correspond to cultivation; the reflections

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[3]These four are equal to the four infinitudes (apramāna) and consist of: love or benevolence; compassion; joy; and indifference or putting up with whatever happens.

[4]These four are: the accurate understanding of Dharma; the accurate understanding of meanings; the accurate understanding in explaining the meaning of a word or text; and the accurate understanding of presence of mind, self-confidence or brilliance, especially as manifested in speech.

[5]"Possessing the ten powers" (daśabala) is an epithet and synonym of any Buddha. For a list of the ten, see Har Dayal, The Bodhisattva Doctrine in Buddhist Sanskrit Literature, p. 20.

correspond to responsive changes.) Therefore, the Avataṃsaka says: "Know that all dharmas are the mind self-nature and bring to perfection the wisdom body. Do not rely on others for awakening."[6] The Ch'i-hsin lun says: "The three realms are unreal, created by mind-only. When one is free of mind, then the six dusts, the objects, do not exist. . . . All discrimination discriminates self-mind. Mind cannot see mind; there are no marks which can be perceived. Therefore, all dharmas are like images in a mirror."[7] The Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra says: "Calmness-extinction is called One-mind. One mind is called the tathagatagarbha. [The tathagatagarbha] everywhere creates sentient-beings in all destinies. It creates good and evil. It receives suffering and joy. It is synonymous with cause."[8] Therefore, we know that there is nothing which is not mind. The gate of being completely selected out takes in the second teaching, the one which negates marks. The gate of completely including takes in the first teaching, the one which speaks of marks. If we take

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[6]T 10, p. 89a.

[7]Paraphrase of the Ch'i-hsin lun, T 32, p. 577b.

[8]From "calmness-extinction" to "tathagatagarbha" is a quotation from Bodhiruci's translation of the Laṅkavatara, T 16, p. 519a. From "everywhere" to "evil" is a paraphrase of Guṇabhadra's translation, T 16, p. 510a, and from "It receives" to "cause" is a quotation from the same translation, T 16, p. 512b.

these two previous teachings to view this one, [i.e., the third teaching], this one is very different from the previous two. If we use this teaching to take in the previous two teachings, then the previous two teachings are identical to this teaching. Depth always includes shallowness, but shallowness does not reach to depth. Depth means to directly reveal the Substance of the True-mind and within that to select out everything and include everything. If, in this way, including and being selected out are self-existent, Nature and marks are unobstructed, then one is able to have no place to dwell within all dharmas. This alone is called the explicit meaning. There are still the differences between mind and the Nature, the conflict between all-at-once and step-by-step, and the ranked spoken teachings of the various houses. I will deal with all of these topics in sequence in the second chapter.

PREFACE TO THE COLLECTED WRITINGS ON THE SOURCE OF CH'AN

CHAPTER TWO

BY SRAMANA TSUNG-MI OF TS'AO-T'ANG MONASTERY IN THE CHUNG-NAN MOUNTAINS

33.

The above three [types of] teachings include all of the sutras which the Tathagata spoke in the course of his lifetime and all of the sastras written by the bodhisattvas. A close examination of Dharma and principles will reveal that the three principles are completely different while the one Dharma is without difference. Of the three principles,[1] the first and second are opposed as existence is to emptiness, and the third and the first are opposed as the Nature is to marks.[2] These [oppositions] are easily seen, even from a

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[1]The three principles are: 1. the secret teaching which relies on the Nature and speaks of marks; 2. the secret teaching which negates marks and reveals the Nature; and 3. the teaching which openly reveals that the True-mind is the Nature.

[2]Fa-tsang records (T 35, p. 111c/T 44, p. 242a-b) that during the wen-ming era (684) he met the Indian translator Devaprajña at the T'ai-yüan Monastery west of the capital and asked him if western exegetes had a p'an-chiao system. Devaprajña's reply outlines the differences between two "contemporary" Nālandā worthies, the Yogacarin Śīlabhadra (the existence lineage) and the Madhyamika Jñānaprabha (the emptiness lineage), principally in terms of their

p'an-chiao systems. Ch'eng-kuan, in his Hua-yen kang-yao (unavailable in any of the major collections), outlined ten differences between the Nature lineage (the Dharmatā or Dharma-nature lineage) and the marks lineage (the Fa-hsiang lineage). Tsung-mi discusses them in his Yüan-chüeh ching lüeh-shu chu: "The Nature lineage and the marks lineage have many differences. I will now summarize them under ten headings according to type: 1. [The marks lineage says:] The three vehicles are based on the fact that the natures are five in number [i.e., those who awaken to the sravaka vehicle; those who awaken to the pratyeka-buddha vehicle; those who awaken to the tathagata vehicle; those of indeterminate nature; and those without the nature]. The first is small; the next one is not explicit; the last possesses the three vehicles and is explicit. The Saṃdhi-nirmocana has passages to this effect. [The Nature lineage says:] The one vehicle is based on the fact that the nature is one. The first is small and the next two are not explicit. Only the one-vehicle is explicit. The Saddharma-puṇḍarīka and others have passages to this effect. 2. [The marks lineage speaks of] the five natures . . . [while the Nature lineage speaks of] the one nature. . . . 3. [The marks lineage says:] Mind-only is unreal; the eight perceptions arise in dependence upon depravities and karma. [The Nature lineage says: Mind-only is] real; the eight perceptions penetrate the tathagatagarbha. 4. [The marks lineage says:] Tathata is solidified [ning-jan]. The eight perceptions emerge and submerge, and, therefore, [tathata] is not conditioned. [The Nature lineage says: Tathata is] conditioned. The eight perceptions are grounded in the tathagatagarbha, and, therefore, they are brought into existence by tathata's following conditions. 5. [The marks lineage says:] The three natures, empty and existent, are separate; the superimposed is empty and the dependent and perfected are existent. [The Nature lineage says: The three natures are] identical; naturelessness is the perfected. 6. [The marks lineage says:] Sentient-beings and Buddhas neither increase nor decrease because those of [in]determinate nature and those without the nature do not become Buddhas. [The Nature lineage says:] Because the sentient-being realm does not decrease and the one Principle is sameness, there is neither increase nor decrease. 7. [The marks lineage says:] The two truths, emptiness and existence, are separate; the real and the worldly are one after the other. [The Nature lineage says: The two truths are] identical; the emptiness of the highest meaning penetrates the real and the unreal. 8. [The marks lineage says:]

distance. The second and third are opposed as negating marks is opposed to revealing the Nature. Exegetes and Ch'anists are equally misinformed [about this opposition]. They say that [the second and third] are one realization or one teaching. They hold that negating marks is itself equivalent to the True-nature. Therefore, I will now explain ten differences between the emptiness lineage and the Nature lineage: 1. the difference between them concerning dharma and principles, real and worldly; 2. the difference between them concerning the two terms mind and

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The four marks [avasthā] follow one after the other; extinction indicates later non-existence. [The Nature lineage says: The four marks are] simultaneous; embodiment is identical to extinction. 9. [The marks lineage says:] the realizer and the realized are separate. The organs perceive objects and then one cuts off the depravities. One takes conditioned knowledge to realize unconditioned Principle. [The Nature lineage says: The realizer and the realized are] identical. The depravities are identical to enlightenment; views are identical to tathata. 10. [The marks lineage says:] The Buddha-body is conditioned. This is because the four knowledges are grounded in the emerging-submerging perception seeds. The sambhogakaya is [also] conditioned. [The Nature lineage says: The Buddha-body is] unconditioned. This is because the [four] knowledges are grounded in the tathagatagarbha. The Buddha's nirmanakaya is eternal, is identical to Dharma, and is not susceptible to calculation. How much more so the sambhogakaya?" (T 39, pp. 525c-526a) Tsung-mi also makes the interesting remark that the "the two sastra-masters, Śīlabhadra and Jñānaprabha, each relying on one sutra and setting up a three-periods teaching, criticized each other, but their transmitters all recognize the Dharma-nature sutras as confirming the principles of their own lineage." (T 39, p. 525c) If Tsung-mi is correct, both Yogacarins and Madhyamikas at Nālandā in the post-Śīlabhadra/Jñānaprabha period (after the mid-seventh century) believed that the Avataṃsaka, the tathagatagarbha sutras, the Saddharma-puṇḍarīkā, etc., "confirmed" the sutras and sastras which were the objects of their special devotion.

Nature; 3. the difference between them concerning the two substances of the character "Nature"; 4. the difference between them concerning True-knowing and True-Knowing; 5. the difference between them concerning the existence or non-existence of a self; 6. the difference between them concerning negation and expression; 7. the difference between them concerning the name and substance; 8. the difference between them concerning the two truths and the three truths; 9. the difference between them concerning the emptiness or existence of the three natures [trisvabhāva]; and 10. the difference between them concerning the emptiness or existence of the Buddha attributes.

34.

1. The difference between them concerning *dharma*[1] and principles, real and worldly. The emptiness lineage, because it does not yet reveal the True-nature, merely considers all differentiae to be *dharma*; *dharma*, [in other words,] is the worldly truth. It considers "unconditioned, no marks, no emerging, no submerging, no increasing, no decreasing," etc., which illuminate all *dharma*, as principles. Principles are the real truth. Therefore, the [*Ta*] *chih*-[*tu*] *lun*,[2] considers the worldly truth to be *dharma*-unobstructed wisdom and the real truth to be principle-unobstructed wisdom. The Nature lineage considers the one True-nature to be *dharma* and various differentiae, such as emptiness and existence, to be principles. Therefore, the sutra says: "Immeasurable principles arise from the one Dharma."[3] Also the *Shih*-*ti* [*Daśabhūmika*] of the *Avataṃsaka* says: "Dharma is knowing the self-nature. Principles are knowing emerging-submerging. Dharma is knowing the real truth. Principles

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[1]This section is based on the contrast between two of the meanings of *dharma*: 1. states of existence or conditions of being (*dharmas*); and 2. the law or the doctrine (Dharma). The emptiness lineage is using it in the first sense, the Nature lineage in the second.

[2]T 25, p. 246b-c.

[3]The *Wu*-*liang i ching*, T 9, p. 385c. See Section 17/n. 2.

are knowing the worldly truth. Dharma is knowing the one vehicle. Principles are knowing the various vehicles."[4] [This sutra goes on] in this way to explain ten differences in meaning between dharma-unobstruction and principle-unobstruction.

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[4]Paraphrase of the Avataṃsaka-sūtra, T 10, pp. 202c-203a.

35.

2. The difference between them concerning the two terms mind and Nature. The emptiness lineage, having an eye on a single side, views the Original-source of all dharmas as the Nature,[1] while the Nature lineage, with many eyes, views the Original-source of all dharmas as mind. As to viewing it as the Nature, various sastras do so. I do not need to quote them here. As to viewing it as mind, the Śrīmālā speaks of "the intrinsically pure mind."[2] The Ch'i-hsin says: "All dharmas ab-aeterno are divorced from such marks as speech, names, mind objects, etc. . . . They are only the One-mind."[3] The Laṅkāvatāra speaks of "the solid Real-mind."[4] The Original-nature spoken of by this lineage is not merely emptiness-calmness, but is of itself constant Knowing, and, for this reason, we should view it as mind.

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[1]This refers to naturelessness (niḥsvabhāvatā or niḥsvabhāvatva/often rendered by wu-hsing). In his Yüan-chüeh ching lüeh-shu chu Tsung-mi outlines five differences between the negation-of-marks lineage and the Nature lineage. The first runs: "No-nature: [The negation-of-marks lineage] takes the naturelessness [wu-hsing] of all dharmas as tathata. Original-nature: [The Nature lineage] takes the eternally abiding True-mind as tathata." (T 39, p. 526a) The Chinese penchant for ellipsis leads to such ambiguities.

[2]T 12, p. 222a-b.

[3]Paraphrase of the Ch'i-hsin lun, T 32, p. 576a.

[4]This quotation has not been traced.

36.

3. The difference between them concerning the two substances of the character "Nature". The emptiness lineage considers [the truth that] all dharmas are natureless to be the Nature, while the Nature lineage regards the bright, eternally abiding, non-empty Substance as the Nature. Therefore, although [these two lineages use] the same character for "Nature," the substance is different [in each case].

37.

4. The difference between them concerning True-knowing and True-Knowing. The emptiness lineage holds that discrimination is Knowing, while non-discrimination is knowing. [Here,] knowing is deep while Knowing is shallow. The Nature lineage holds that the true wisdom which can realize noble Principle is knowing and that the True-nature, which encompasses both Principle and knowing, which penetrates both the common-man and the sage, is Knowing. Knowing penetrates [everywhere], while knowing is limited [to sages]. The Wen-ming p'in[1] quoted above has already made this distinction. Furthermore, the Shih hui-hsiang pin [also quoted above], in speaking of tathata, says: "Illumination is the Nature."[2] The Ch'i-hsin lun says that the self-substance of tathata is real Knowing.[3]

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[1] Avataṃsaka-sūtra, T 10, pp. 66a-69b. Quoted in Section 29.

[2] This quotation has not been traced. Quoted in Section 29.

[3] Paraphrase of the Ch'i-hsin lun, T 32, p. 579a. Quoted in Section 29.

38.

5. The difference between them concerning the existence or non-existence of a self. The emptiness lineage takes self as unreal and no-self as real. The Nature lineage takes no-self as unreal and Self as real. Therefore, the Nirvāṇa-sūtra says: "No-self is called samsara. Self is called Tathagata."[1] [This sutra] also states: "To consider Self as no-self is a perverted Dharma."[2] [This sutra] refutes the tenets of the two vehicles, impermanence and no-self. [It says that such views] are like stones from a spring pond which are mistaken for treasures. It extols permanence, joy, self, and purity[3] as the Ultimate. . . . It says: "Within the no-self dharmas, there is the real Self." (Because sentient-beings, as a consequence of being deluded about their own real Self, falsely grasp the five aggregates as a self, the Buddha, in the dharma-mark and negation-of-marks teachings of the Mahayana and Hinayana,[4] negates this self, saying it

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[1]Paraphrase of the Nirvāṇa-sūtra, T 12, p. 617b.

[2]Nirvāṇa-sūtra, T 12, p. 617a. The remainder of this section is based on this sutra, T 12, pp. 617a-618c.

[3]These are the four guṇa-pāramitā-s.

[4]Dharma-mark teaching here refers to the second and third subdivisions of the first teaching, the teaching which cuts off the depravities and extinguishes suffering and the teaching which takes perception to negate objects. The negation-of-marks teaching is the second teaching.

is non-existent. But, in the Nature lineage, [the Buddha] directly illuminates the Substance, revealing it as existent.)

39.

6. The difference between them concerning negation and expression. Negation means getting rid of what it is not, while expression means revealing what it is. In other words, negation means rejection of all other, while expression means directly revealing the very Substance. It is like the true Principle-Nature spoken of in the various sutras. Everyone [of those sutras] says that it neither emerges nor submerges, is neither defiled nor pure, is neither cause nor effect, is without marks and is unconditioned, is neither common nor noble, is neither Nature nor marks, etc. [Such phrases] are all negative. (The sutras and sastras often negate all dharmas with the character "it-is-not." Sometimes this character occurs thirty to fifty times. The characters "no" and "not-have" are used in the same manner. This is why we speak of cutting off the hundred negations.) If [a sutra] speaks of "Knowing-seeing and awakened illumination," "mirror brightness," "radiancy and luminosity," "comprehensive calmness," etc., all such phrases are expressive. If there were no Substance such as Knowing-seeing, what dharma could be revealed as the Nature, and what dharma could be spoken of as neither emerging nor submerging, etc.? You must realize that at this very moment Knowing is the mind-nature, then you [will be able] to say that this Knowing neither emerges nor submerges, etc. [Let me provide several] analogies. To say

that salt does not have a weak taste is negation, while to say that it is bitter is expression. To say that water is not dry is negation, while to say that it is wet is expression. Various teachings are always speaking of cutting off the hundred negations. [The hundred negations] are all negative phrases. To directly reveal the One-Reality, [the teachings] use expressive words. The words of the emptiness lineage are only negative, while the words of the Nature lineage are both negative and expressive. The merely negative [teachings] are non-explicit. They hit the mark only when combined with the expressive. Today, everyone says that negative words are deep and expressive words are shallow, and, consequently, they only value such phrases as "neither mind nor Buddha," "unconditioned and without marks," "nothing can be conceived," etc. Such a situation prevails because they value only negative phrases and do not desire to realize for themselves the Dharma-Substance.

40.

7. The difference between them concerning the name and the substance. There are [many] names and [one] substance to both the Buddha-dharma and [all] mundane dharmas. According to mundane expression, the great-elements [mahā-bhūta] are no more than four. As the [Ta] chih-[tu] lun says: "Earth, water, fire, and air are the names of the four elements. Solidity, wetness, heat, and movement are the substance of the four elements."[1] Now, let us discuss water. Suppose someone asked: I am always hearing that when one settles it, it is clear; that when one stirs it up, it is cloudy; that when one dams it up, it stops; that when one releases it, it flows; that it can irrigate all living things and wash away all dirt. What is it? (The question about "it" is phrased in terms of "its" aspects and functions.) Answer: It is water. (The answer is in terms of "its" name.) Upon recognizing [this] name, the ignorant say that they have understood, but the wise will further ask: What is water? ([This question] aims at knowing "its" substance.) Answer: Wetness is water. ([This answer] is personal pointing.[2] The single word ["wetness"] is definitive; no other character

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[1]Based on T 25, p. 293c.

[2]For k'o-t'i see Section 32/n.1.

could be substituted for it. If one were to say that waves or ice or clarity or cloudiness is water, it would not differ from the terminology of the other's question. The Buddha-dharma is also like this. Suppose someone asked: I am always hearing the sutras say that delusion about it is defilement; that awakening to it is purity; that letting it go is worldiness; that cultivating it is sageliness; that it gives rise to all mundane and supramundane dharmas. What is it? (The question about "it" is phrased in terms of "its" aspects and functions.) Answer: It is mind. (The answer is in terms of "its" name.) Upon recognizing this name, the ignorant say that they have understood, but the wise will further ask: What is mind? ([This question] aims at knowing "its" substance.) Answer: Knowing is mind.[3] ([This answer] points to the substance. This word ["Knowing"] hits the bullseye; no other character would do. If one were to say that mind is neither Nature nor marks, or that it is speech and movement,[4] it would not differ from the terminology of the

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[3]The line "Knowing is the mind-substance" (chih chi hsin-t'i) is found in Ch'eng-kuan's Hua-yen ching-shu, T 35, p. 612b.

[4]The second teaching and the second Ch'an realization say "neither Nature nor marks." The first type of the third Ch'an realization (i.e., the Hung-chou house) says: "Your ability right now to talk, act, feel covetousness, anger, compassion, patience, create good or bad [karma] and receive suffering or joy, etc., is your Buddha-nature." See Section 24.

other's question.) Thus, we know that there is one character for the name of water and one for its substance and that all other [related characters merely denote] aspects and functions. Likewise, there is one character for the name of mind and one character for its substance. The one character [for the substance of water,] "wetness," goes through to that which is within all the functions and aspects [of water], such as clarity, cloudiness, etc. The one character [for the substance of mind,] "Knowing," goes through to the place of all the functions and aspects [of mind], such as covetousness, anger, pity, patience, good, evil, suffering, joy, etc.

Today, people who study Ch'an have many doubts, saying: "Bodhidharma spoke only of mind. Why did Ho-tse [Shen-hui] speak of Knowing?" Such doubts are like saying: "Recently, I heard that there is water in the well. Why today do I suddenly find only wetness in the well?" You must directly awaken [to the realization that] water is [merely] a name, that it is not "wet," that being wet is water, not a [mere] name. [Having realized this], you will understand all the [possible] aspects [of water], such as clarity, cloudiness, waves, ice. Likewise, mind is [merely] a name, not the essence; Knowing is mind, not a [mere] name. [Having realized this], you will understand all the [possible] aspects, such as the real, the unreal, defilement, purity, good, evil. The emptiness lineage

and the marks lineage[5] are [always] afraid that novices and those of shallow ability will follow the words [of the texts] and give rise to grasping. [To counteract this, these two lineages respectively] negate names and extensively engage in drawing out the meanings of aspects and functions. The Nature lineage gears itself to advanced students and those of superior ability. Because it commands one to "forget words and recognize Substance," it reveals directly with one word [i.e., "Knowing"]. (Bodhidharma said: "I reveal directly by pointing to one word."[6] At a later date, people did not understand his idea and wondered: "What is this one word?" If you say [that Bodhidharma was referring to] "mind is Buddha," [I would reply that] this is four words [i.e., chi-hsin shih fo]. What is the one word?) Once one has attained to recognition of Substance, he can then illuminate and examine the aspects and functions on Substance. In this way, he will comprehend everything.

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[5]The San-lun and Fa-hsiang lineages respectively.

[6]The Bodhidharma section of the Pao-lin chuan (fascicle 8).

41.

8. The difference between them concerning the two truths and the three truths. All students know that the emptiness lineage says that all dharmas, both mundane and supramundane, do not go beyond the two truths.[1] There is no need to quote [texts] to explain this. The Nature lineage, however, gathers up the Nature, all marks, and the self-substance [tzu-t'i] and views them together as the three truths.[2] [The Nature lineage] takes all dharmas

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[1]The Chung-lun says of the two truths: "All of the Buddhas rely on the two truths to speak the Dharma to sentient-beings. The first is the worldly truth and the second is the ultimate truth. If one does not know how to differentiate between the two truths, then he will not perceive the real meaning in the deep Buddha-dharma. If one does not rely on the worldly truth, he will not obtain the ultimate [truth]. If he does not obtain the ultimate [truth], he will not obtain nirvana." (T 30, pp. 32c-33a) Chi-tsang's San-lun hsüan-i says: "Because there is the ultimate truth, prajna is produced. Because there is the worldly truth, upāya is produced. If one possesses real knowledge and upāya knowledge, it is the Buddhas of the three times and the ten directions. Therefore, the two truths are set up. Further, knowing the ultimate [truth] is self-benefit. Knowing the worldly truth, one can benefit others. Knowing both truths, one obtains common [i.e., both self and others] benefit. Therefore, the two truths are set up. Further, because there are the two truths, the Buddha-word is all real [i.e., true]. Because of the worldly truth, we say that existence is real. Because of the ultimate [truth], we say that emptiness is real. Further, the Buddha-dharma gradually deepens. At first, [the Buddha] spoke of the cause and effect of worldly truth in order to teach [sentient-beings]. Later, he spoke for them the ultimate [truth]. Further, those wise ones who have completed the Path speak ultimate [truth], not worldly truth. Further, if the Buddha had not first spoken the cause and effect of worldly truth and had spoken directly of ultimate [truth], it would have given rise to the annihilationist view. Therefore, both truths were brought to light." (T 45, p. 11c)

[2]See Section 4/n. 10.

which originate by dependence, such as forms, etc., as the worldly truth and takes [the truth that] conditions lack a self-nature and [hence] all dharmas are empty as the real truth. (This much is no different in principles from the two truths of the emptiness lineage and the marks lineage.) That the One true mind-substance is neither emptiness nor form, [but] can be emptiness and can be form [neng-k'ung neng-se] is the truth of the highest principle of the Middle Path. By analogy, a bright mirror also has three principles. [When looking at the mirror, one] cannot call a green image in the mirror yellow, or a beautiful image ugly. This is like the worldly truth. Because the images lack a self-nature, everyone of them is completely empty. This is like the real truth. The substance [of the mirror], its constant brightness, is neither emptiness nor the green and yellow images, [but] can be empty and can be the green and yellow images. This is like the truth of the highest principle. This is just as the Ying-lo,[3]

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[3]Normally, both ying and lo are written with radical no. 96, whereas Tsung-mi uses radical no. 120. In the P'u-sa ying-lo pen-ye ching translation, done in the late fourth-century by the Chinese Chu Fo-nien, the Buddha says: "Buddha-sons! The truth of existence [yu-ti], truth of non-existence [wu-ti], and the ultimate truth of the Middle Path [chung-tao ti-i-i ti] are the mother of the wisdom of all the Buddhas and bodhisattvas." (T 24, p. 1018b) Curiously, Chi-tsang in his San-lun hsüan-i cites the same sutra in support of the two truths: "The two truths are the root. Both the Tathagata's self-practice and his teaching of others arose from the two truths. That his self-practice arose from the two truths, see the Fo-mu p'in of the Ying-lo ching which shows that the two truths can give birth to Buddhas. The two truths is the mother of Buddhas." (T 45, p. 11a)

Ta-p'in,[4] Pen-ye[5] and other sutras say. Thus, the T'ien-t'ai lineage relies on these three truths and cultivates the three tranquillizations and the three insights,[6] thus bringing to perfection the three qualities.[7]

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[4]Refers to the Mo-ho pan-jo po-lo-mi ching (T no. 223), Kumārajīva's translation of the Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā-prajñā-pāramitā.

[5]Refers to the Fo-shuo p'u-sa pen-ye ching translation (T no. 281) done by Chih-ch'ien during the third century. It corresponds to the seventh and eleventh chapters (p'in) of the Chin Avataṃsaka (T no. 278) and the eleventh and fifteenth chapters of the T'ang Avataṃsaka (T no. 279).

[6]See Section 4/n. 11.

[7]The three qualities of nirvana are spoken of in the Nirvāṇa-sūtra: the dhar akaya quality, the prajna quality, and the liberation quality.

42.

9. The difference between them concerning the emptiness or existence of the three natures [trisvabhāva].[1] The three are: the superimposed nature [parikalpita-svabhāva] (Unreal feelings calculate everywhere a self and dharmas and grasp them one after the other as really existent. [Let me provide an] analogy. When a foolish child sees the images of peoples' faces in a mirror, he grasps at them as having life, being solid, with flesh and bones, etc.); the dependent-on-something-else nature [paratantra-svabhāva] (These grasped dharmas arise in dependence on other conditions [and so] they all lack a self-nature; they are merely unreal marks, like images in a mirror.); and the completely perfected nature [pariniṣpanna-svabhāva]. (The True-mind of Original-awakening manifests itself at initial-awakening, completely perfected, real and eternally abiding, like the brightness of a mirror.) The emptiness lineage says: "Whenever the sutras say 'existence,' it is according to the superimposed and dependent-on-something-else [natures]. Whenever they say 'emptiness,' it is the completely perfected nature. The three dharmas [i.e., the three natures] all lack a nature."

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[1]Tsung-mi uses Hsüan-tsang's renderings for each of the three natures rather than those of Paramārtha.

The Nature lineage, [on the other hand, says that] each of the three dharmas possesses an empty aspect and an existent aspect.[2] This means that the superimposed [nature] exists in feelings but not in Principle; that the dependent-on-something-else [nature] exists in marks but not in the Nature; and, that the completely perfected [nature] does not exist in feelings but does in Principle, does not exist in marks, but does in the Nature.

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[2]Fa-tsang in his Hua-yen i-ch'eng chiao-i fen-chi chang (=Hua-yen wu-chiao chang) says: "Each of the three natures has two aspects. The two aspects within the real [i.e., the completely perfected nature] are the unchanging [pu-pien] and the conditioned [sui-yüan]. The two aspects of the dependent-on-something-else are the seeming-to-exist [ssu-yu] and the natureless [wu-hsing]. The two aspects within the superimposed are the in-feelings-existent [ch'ing-yu] and the in-Principle-non-existent [li-wu]. Because of the three aspects -- the unchanging within the real, the natureless of the dependent-on-something-else, and the in-Principle-non-existent of the superimposed -- the three natures are of one limit, identical, without difference. This is the eternal root without harming the branches. . . . Furthermore, from the viewpoint of the [other] three aspects -- tathata conditioned, the seeming-to-exist of the dependent-on-something-else, and the in-feelings-existent of the superimposed -- there is also no difference. This is the eternal branches without moving the root. . . . These three aspects and the previous three aspects are the gate of non-duality. Therefore, the real includes the unreal branches and the unreal penetrates to the real source. Nature and marks are fused, without obstacle, without obstruction." (T 45, p. 499a) Vasubandhu himself held that each of the three natures possesses an empty aspect and an existent aspect. The eleventh through thirteenth verses of his Trisvabhāva-kārikā say: What is grasped as existent and is also completely non-existent/Is the imagined nature -- by that it is thought to have the marks of existence and non-existence//What exists [occurs] as a false existence but does not exist as it appears/Is the dependent-on-something-else -- for which reason it is thought to have the marks of existence and non-existence//What exists as non-duality and is also the non-existence of duality/Is the perfected nature -- by that it is thought to have the marks of existence and non-existence//

43.

10. The difference between them concerning the emptiness or existence of the Buddha attributes. The emptiness lineage, in speaking of the Buddha, takes emptiness as [his] attribute,[1] [saying that] no dharma whatsoever exists that can be called awakening,[2] that to see [the Buddha in terms of] form or seek [him] as sound is to walk a false path.[3] The Madhyamaka-śāstra says: "[The Tathagata] is not the aggregates and is not different from the aggregates. This [the Tathagata] and that [the aggregates] do not exist in each other. If the Tathagata does not have aggregates, where is the Tathagata?"[4] [That which] is divorced from all marks is called all the Buddhas.[5] The Nature lineage [holds that] the Self-substance of all the Buddhas has permanence, joy, self and purity,[6]

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[1]Based on the Vajracchedikā, T 8, p. 749a.

[2]Based on the Vajracchedikā, T 8, p. 751c.

[3]Based on a verse in the Vajracchedikā, T 8, p. 752a.

[4]T 30, p. 29c.

[5]Based on the Vajracchedikā, T 8, p. 750b.

[6]Based on the Nirvāṇa-sūtra, T 12, p. 617a-b.

[that it has such] real attributes as the ten bodies and the ten knowledges,[7] that it has the major and minor marks[8] which are like limitless shafts of light, that this Nature itself has existed ab-aeterno, that it does not wait for opportune conditions [to appear].

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[7]The ten bodies are: 1. the sentient-being body; 2. the lands body; 3. the karmic retribution body; 4. the sravaka body; 5. the pratyeka-buddha body; 6. the bodhisattva body; 7. the Tathagata body; 8. the knowledge body; 9. the Dharma body; and 10. the space body. The ten knowledges are: 1. knowledge of Dharma; 2. knowledge of other minds; 3. knowledge of inference; 4. knowledge of conventional truth; 5. knowledge of suffering; 6. knowledge of accumulation; 7. knowledge of extinction; 8. knowledge of the Path; 9. knowledge of non-exhaustion; 10. knowledge of non-production.

[8]These are the thirty-two principal signs of a superior person (a cakravartin or a Buddha) and his eighty secondary or minor characteristics. See Har Dayal, The Bodhisattva Doctrine in Buddhist Sanskrit Literature, pp. 300-5.

44.

By specifying these ten differences, the two gates[1] are clarified. Although I have made divisions on doctrinal points, no one should have deluded feelings. The three teachings and the three realizations are the Dharma of one taste. Therefore, one must first realize the Ch'an minds of the three realizations in accordance with the three types of the Buddha's teachings, and, after that, Ch'an and the teachings will both be forgotten, mind and Buddha will both be calmed. [When mind and Buddha are] both calmed, then moment after moment all is Buddha; there is not one moment that is not the Buddha mind. [When Ch'an and teachings] have both been forgotten, then every phrase is a Ch'an phrase; there is not one phrase that is not the Ch'an teaching. When one is like this, upon hearing the words of [the Ch'an realization of] cut off and nothing to rely upon, he knows spontaneously that this [realization] negates self-grasping feelings. Upon hearing the words of [the Ch'an realization of] stopping the unreal and cultivating mind, he knows that this [realization] cuts off self-<u>vāsanā</u>. If grasping feelings are negated and the True-nature revealed, then "cut off" is a realization of the Nature.[2] If <u>vāsanā</u> is exhausted and the Buddha Path

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[1]The two gates are the emptiness lineage and the Nature lineage.

[2]This means that the second Ch'an realization (the

completed, then "cultivating mind" is a practice to become a Buddha.[3] As to the emptiness or existence of all-at-once and step-by-step, since there is no error anywhere, how could Hung-[chou], Ho[-tse Shen-hui], [Hui-]neng, and [Shen-]hsiu not coincide? Once you have comprehended this, everything you say to others will be true expedients, while everything you hear from others will be true medicine. Medicine is to disease as comprehension is to grasping. This is why a former worthy said: "When grasping, every character [in the texts becomes] a boil or an ulcer. When comprehending, every word is true medicine."[4] The one who comprehends understands that the three [Ch'an] realizations do not conflict with one another.

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realization of cut off and nothing to rely upon) is identical to the second teaching (the teaching which negates marks and reveals the Nature).

[3]This means that the first Ch'an realization (the realization of stopping the unreal and cultivating mind) is identical to the third subdivision of the first teaching (the teaching which takes perception to negate objects).

[4]Unknown source.

45.

Question: You said earlier: "The Buddha spoke [both] an all-at-once teaching and a step-by-step teaching, while Ch'an opens [both] an all-at-once gate and a step-by-step gate." I have not yet [been able to] determine which within the three types of teachings are all-at-once and which step-by-step. Answer: The principles of the Dharma [vary from] deep to shallow. I have already dealt fully with the three types of them. The teaching styles of the World-honored-one varied. There were all-at-once sermons in accordance with Principle and step-by-step sermons in accordance with the abilities [of his audiences]. This is the only reason why we use the additional terms "all-at-once teaching" and "step-by-step teaching." It is not the case that there are a separate all-at-once and step-by-step outside the three teachings. Step-by-step means that, for the sake of those of medium and inferior abilities, those who could not immediately believe in and awaken to the true Principle of perfect awakening, [the Buddha] spoke the previous men-and-gods [teaching], the Hinayana, up through the dharma-marks [teaching] (the above are all the first teaching) and the negation-of-marks [teaching] (the second teaching). He then waited for the abilities of these people to ripen, [and, when they had done so,] he spoke for them the explicit meaning, the Saddharma-puṇḍarīka-sūtra, the Nirvāṇa-sūtra, and

others. (This [teaching of the Saddharma-puṇḍarīka and Nirvāṇa-sūtra-s and others,] together with the response-to-superior-abilities all-at-once teaching[1] [which I will discuss] below, constitutes the third teaching [in my outline]. The teaching-style all-at-once[2] embraces all three types [of teachings]. The classifications of the teachings set up by the worthies of the western regions and this land from ancient times until today, such as the three periods and the five periods,[3] are merely the step-by-step teaching. They do not take in the Avataṃsaka

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[1]The response-to-superior-abilities all-at-once (chu-chi tun/the "superior" has been supplied) is "one part" of the Avataṃsaka (see n.8 in this section) and the tathagatagarbha sutras. It corresponds to Ho-tse and Hung-chou Ch'an.

[2]The teaching-style all-at-once (hua-i tun) is "one sutra" of the Avataṃsaka (see n. 10 in this section) and the Daśabhūmika-śāstra.

[3]The "three periods" is the p'an-chiao of the Fa-hsiang lineage: 1. the teaching of existence (the Āgama-s); 2. the teaching of emptiness (the Prajñā-pāramitā-sūtras); and 3. the teaching of the Middle Path (the Saṃdhi-nirmocana-sūtra). A "five periods" p'an-chiao was held by many scholars from the time of the Northern and Southern Dynasties onward -- culminating in Chih-i's scheme. A good example is Hui-kuan's (354-424) system which has two major categories: 1. the all-at-once teaching (the Avataṃsaka); and 2. the step-by-step teaching. The latter is divided into five periods: 1. the separate teaching of the three vehicles (the Āgama-s); 2. the common teaching of the three vehicles (the Prajñā-pāramitā-sūtras); 3. the teaching of restraining and raising up (the Vimalakīrti); 4. the teaching of common return (the Saddharma-puṇḍarīka); and 5. the teaching of the eternally abiding (the Nirvāṇa). See Leon Hurvitz, Chih-I, pp. 214-44.

and other sutras.)

There are two types of all-at-once, the response-to-superior-abilities all-at-once and the teaching-style all-at-once. The response-to-superior-abilities all-at-once [refers to those situations in which the Buddha,] having met a common-man of superior abilities and sharp intellect, directly revealed the real Dharma. [The common-man] suddenly awakened as soon as he heard [the Buddha] speak and gained the identical fruit of Buddhahood. It is as [said] in the Avataṃsaka: "When one first raises the thought [of enlightenment], one attains unexcelled perfect enlightenment."[4] In the Yüan-chüeh: "To practice contemplation is to complete the Buddha Path."[5] However, in the beginning [these common-men]must utilize the same practice gate as is found in the previous two teachings,[6] in order step-by-step to get rid of common-man vāsanā and step-by-step manifest noble virtue. [Let me provide an] analogy. A wind blows over [the surface of] the great ocean. [The surface of the ocean is disturbed, so that] it can no longer reflect images. If the wind all-at-once stops, the waves [created by it only] step-by-step cease, [once

[4]T 10, p. 89a.

[5]No such line occurs in this sutra as we possess it.

[6]Refers to the four dhyanas/eight samadhis and the five-tiered perception-only contemplation.

again providing the smooth surface on which] the reflections reappear. (The wind corresponds to deluded feelings, the ocean to the mind-nature, the waves to the depravities, and the reflections to functions. These are mentioned one after the other in the Ch'i-hsin lun.[7]) [This response-to-superior-abilities all-at-once] is one part of the Avataṃsaka[8] and such sutras as the Yüan-chüeh, the Śūraṃgama, the Ghana-vyūha, the Śrīmālā, and the Tathāgata-garbha, over twenty sections in all. Whenever [the Buddha] encountered someone of superior abilities, he spoke [this type of all-at-once teaching]; it is not restricted to either the first or last [part of his preaching career]. It is identical to the third [Ch'an] realization, the one which directly reveals the mind-nature.

The second [type of all-at-once], the teaching-style all-at-once, [refers to the fact that] when the Buddha first completed the Path, for the sake of those who possessed superior abilities as a result of the conditions of past lives, he on one occasion[9] spoke all-at-once of Nature and

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[7]T 32, p. 578a.

[8]Presumably, the "one part" is the line "when one first raises the thought [of enlightenment], one attains unexcelled perfect enlightenment" (found in the sixteenth chapter of the T'ang Avataṃsaka/T 10, p. 89a).

[9]The "one occasion" is the twenty-one days immediately following the Buddha's enlightenment

and marks, phenomena and Principle, the ten-thousand delusions of sentient-beings, the ten-thousand practices of the bodhisattvas, the stages of the worthies and noble ones, the ten-thousand attributes of the Buddhas; [on this one occasion he said that] causes suffuse the sea of effects, that when one first [raises] the thought [of enlightenment], one attains enlightenment, that effects penetrate to the source of causes, that even when the stages are filled, one is still called a bodhisattva. [This second type of all-at-once] is only one sutra of the Avataṃsaka[10] and the Daśabhūmika-śāstra, and is called the Perfect-all-at-once-teaching. None of the other [sutras or sastras] contains [this type of all-at-once teaching]. (Previously someone made the objection that all-at-once awakening to become a Buddha contradicts the sutras. I have made it clear here that this is not so.) This [second type of all-at-once teaching] says that "all dharmas" is an "all dharmas" which is identical to the One-mind and the "One-mind" is a "One-mind" which is identical to all dharmas, that Nature and marks are perfectly fused, that the one and the many are self-existent. Therefore, all Buddhas and all sentient-beings penetrate each other, the pure lands and the defiled

[10]The "one sutra" is the thirty-ninth and last chapter of the T'ang Avataṃsaka (the thirty-fourth chapter of the Chin Avataṃsaka), the Ju fa-chieh p'in (Dharma-dhātu-praveśa/=Gaṇḍavyūha-sūtra).

lands are completely fused, every dharma includes within itself every other dharma, every speck of dust includes [all the] worlds, mutually penetrating and mutually identical [hsiang-ju hsiang-chi]; there is fusion without obstruction in the gates of the ten profundities [shih-hsüan men],[11] again and again without limit. This is called the dharma-dhātu without obstruction.

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[11]The gates of the ten profundities clarify dharma-dhātu dependent origination. They were first discussed in the I-ch'eng shih-hsüan men (T 45, pp. 515b-518c) of Tu-shun and Chih-yen. They also appear in Fa-tsang's Hua-yen i'ch'eng chiao-i fen-chi chang (T 45, pp. 503a-509a) and his T'an-hsüan chi (T 35, pp. 123a-125a). Those of the Hua-yen i-ch'eng chiao-i fen-chi chang are called the "old ten profundities" and those of the T'an-hsüan chi the "new ten profundities." Ch'eng-kuan and Tsung-mi transmitted the latter version.

46.

Up until now I have spoken of all-at-once and step-by-step only in terms of the Buddha and his teachings. The meanings of all-at-once and step-by-step are something quite different when we speak of them in terms of abilities and awakening-cultivation. Among the [Ch'an] houses listed previously, some say: "One first accumulates merit from step-by-step cultivation and then all-at-once awakens." (This is like chopping down a tree; slice after slice is "step-by-step" chopped away, until at a certain point in time, [the tree] "all-at-once" falls. It is also like pointing towards a city far off in the distance; "step-by-step" you approach, until, on a certain day, you "all-at-once" arrive.) Some say: "One relies on all-at-once cultivation in order to step-by-step awaken." (This is like a person studying archery. "All-at-once" is that [during all the time he is releasing] arrows, he concentrates his attention directly on the bullseye. "Step-by-step" is that a long time elapses before [his arrows] first begin step-by-step to approach and finally hit the bullseye. The meaning here is that the power of concentration is "all-at-once" cultivated, not that one is "all-at-once" finished with meritorious practice.) Some say: "One step-by-step practices [and then] step-by-step awakens." (This is like ascending a nine-storied platform. "Step-by-step" one ascends and "step-by-step" one can see farther and farther

into the distance. There is a poem which states: "Wanting to see the eye of a thousand li, I went up one more story."[1] In all [three of these variants, "awakening"] means realization-awakening [cheng-wu].[2] Some say: "One must first all-at-once awaken and then must step-by-step practice." Here, ["awakening"] means understanding-awakening [chieh-wu].[3] (In terms of cutting off obstructions, this is like [the fact that] the sun rises "all-at-once" but the frost melts "step-by-step." In terms of perfecting virtues, this is like [the fact that], upon birth, a child "all-at-once" possesses four limbs and six senses, and, as it matures, it "step-by-step" perfects its will and

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[1]The Kuo-hsiu chi (fascicle 3) lists Chu Pin as the author and gives the poem as:

Ascending a Tower
The bright sun disappears behind the mountains
The Yellow River flows to the sea
Wanting to see with the eye of a thousand li
I went up one more story

However, the Mo-k'o hui-hsi gives the author as Wang Wen-huan and the T'ang-shih hsüan (fascicle 6) gives him as Wang Chih-huan. The tower is the Crane Tower north of the city of P'u-chou in Shansi, overlooking the Yellow River.

[2]Realization-awakening is bodhi.

[3]Understanding-awakening is intellectual comprehension of the teaching. Tsung-mi considered all-at-once awakening and step-by-step practice (meaning understanding-awakening followed by step-by-step practice followed by realization-awakening) to be the teaching of Ho-tse Ch'an.

[motor] activity.) Therefore, the Avataṃsaka says that when one first raises the thought [of enlightenment], one attains perfect enlightenment.[4] But, after this, the three worthies and the ten noble [stages][5] are step-by-step practiced and realized. If one practices without having awakened, it is not true practice. (Truly, if it is not a practice which is in the stream of truth, there is no way to accord with truth. How can there be a practice to cultivate truth which does not itself arise from truth? Therefore, a sutra[6] says that, without having heard this Dharma, you will never realize truth, even if you practice the six paramitas and ten-thousand practices for many kalpas.) Some say: "One all-at-once awakens and then all-at-once practices." This [variant] refers to those whose nature is of extra-superior intellectual ability (Because intellect is superior, he awakens.) and whose joyful desire (Because desire is superior, he practices.) are both superior. [This extra-superior person] hears [the Dharma] once and has a thousand awakenings; he obtains the great dharani;[7]

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[4]T 10, p. 89a.

[5]See Section 8/n.1 and n.2

[6]Unknown sutra.

[7]Dharanis are magic formulas by which a bodhisattva is able to remember a book on merely hearing it, allay all plagues, etc.

in a moment, non-arising, the limit between before and after is cut off. (In terms of cutting off obstructions, this is like cutting a piece of silk, numerous silk threads are "all-at-once" severed. In terms of cultivating virtue, this is like dyeing a piece of silk, numerous silk threads "all-at-once" take on the color. Ho-tse [Shen-hui] said: "Having seen the Substance of no-mindfulness, one does not pursue the arising of things."[8] He also said: "If one for a single moment is in conjunction with the Original-nature, eighty-thousand paramita practices will all-at-once come into effect."[9]) The triple activity[10] of this [extra-superior] person shines alone. It is something which other people cannot reach up to. (The Chin-kang san-mei says: "The empty mind, unmoving, is endowed with the paramitas."[11] The Saddharma-puṇḍarīka[12] says that the eyes and ears one is born with can see through the

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[8]Found in the Ho-tse Shen-hui ta-shih yü, which is contained in the Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu (T 51, p. 439c).

[9]Unknown source.

[10]These are acts of body, speech, and mind.

[11]T 9, p. 367a. See Section 31/n.4.

[12]Paraphrase of the Saddharma-puṇḍarīka-sūtra, T 9, p. 47c.

three thousand worlds, etc.) If we talk about this [variant] in terms of real manifestations, it is like the type [of Ch'an] of Niu-t'ou Yung Ta-shih.[13] In this gate [i.e., all-at-once awakening and all-at-once practice] there are two meanings [to "awakening"]. When one relies on awakening and then practices, it is understanding-awakening, and, when one relies on practice and then awakens, it is realization-awakening. However, all of the above [variants] are propounded only from the perspective of the present life. If one infers at a distance about past lives, [then it becomes clear that the process] is only step-by-step and not all-at-once. What we see today as all-at-once has arisen through the step-by-step perfuming of many past lives. Some [Ch'an houses] say: "In the Dharma there is neither all-at-once nor step-by-step; all-at-once and step-by-step lie in the abilities of men."[14] Truly, this is Principle. There is no concreteness in the words ["all-at-once" and "step-by-step]; they have always referred only to the abilities [of men]. Who ever said that they have substance? As to the meanings of all-at-once and step-by-step, there are this many gates. Every gate

[13]See Section 12/n.6.

[14]See the Liu-tsu t'an-ching, section 16 of the Tun-huang version.

has meaning. This is not a case of producing an excess of chisels.[15] The same applies to the four step-by-steps and four all-at-onces of the Laṅkāvatāra.[16] (The principles [of the Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra] are of the step-by-step practice and all-at-once awakening type.) I have still not dared to speak of the complexities involved here. Recently, I have time after time seen propounders who merely use the words "all-at-once" and "step-by-step" without making the [necessary] distinctions: that with respect to the teachings, there is the teaching-style all-at-once and the response-to-superior-abilities all-at-once, and that with respect to men, there is the all-at-once of teaching expedients, the all-at-once of intellectual ability for awakening, and the all-at-once of willpower for practice. Among [these propounders] it is always said: "To first all-at-once awaken and afterwards step-by-step practice seems to be contradictory." But how can those who desire to remove doubt not see that the sun rises "all-at-once," but the frost melts "step-by-step," that a child is born "all-at-once" (possessing four limbs and six senses), but

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[15]The translation is tentative.

[16]Refers to the Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra, T 16, pp. 485c-486a.

its will is refined "step-by-step" (All the muscles, etc., mature "step-by-step."), that when a fierce wind "all-at-once" ceases [blowing over the surface of the ocean], the waves stop "step-by-step," that brightness [i.e., intellectual aptitude] is "all-at-once," whereas ritual and music are learned "step-by-step." (It is like a high-born young man falling into dissipation, [eventually] becoming a slave. In future lives, he is unaware of his aristocratic [lineage], but, at some point, he learns the identity of his parents. On that day, he is once again completely an aristocrat, but the traces of his past actions cannot be "all-at-once" changed, and so he must "step-by-step" relearn [aristocratic habits].) This [all-at-once awakening and step-by-step practice] we know to be the most essential of the principles of all-at-once and step-by-step.

47.

Although my original intention in this work was merely to put the Ch'an explanations in sequence, in view of the fact that the one realization of Bodhidharma is the common substance of the Buddha-dharma and that the writings of the various houses are each different, I have [instead] now collected them into one basket [pitaka]; together they will bring to perfection both Principle and phenomena[1] and they will bring perfection from beginning to end to the gates of awakening-understanding, practice, and realization. For this reason, I must give an exhaustive account of the ideas of the [Ch'an houses] which have been put into sequence and make the blood relationships connected, the root and branches in order. If you wish to see the sequence of root and branches, first you must investigate thoroughly the above three types, the all-at-once sermons and the step-by-step sermons,[2] [and ask the following questions:] From what origin does the Dharma spoken of in the teachings come forth? Where is it now? Also, you must look up and contemplate the various sermons of the Buddha,

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[1]The one realization of Bodhidharma is Principle (li) and the writings of the various Ch'an houses are phenomena (shih).

[2]Presumably, the three types are: 1. the step-by-step sermons (the first two teachings); 2. the response-to-superior-abilities all-at-once sermons (the third teaching); and 3. the teaching-style all-at-once sermons (include all three teachings).

[asking yourself:] What was the original idea of this teaching? Then the entire great store of sutras, from beginning to end, from root to branches, will all-at-once be clearly understood. As to the thorough investigation of [the question] "Where does the Dharma of the teaching come from?": At its root it emanates from the One true mind-substance of the World-honored-one, revolving until it reaches the ears of the people of this time, the eyes of the people of today. The principles which are spoken of [by exegetes] are only the One true mind-substance which both common-men and noble ones are grounded in. Following conditions it flows outward, revolving, penetrating everywhere, penetrating to the center of the bodies and minds of all sentient-beings. If each [sentient-being] merely quiets thoughts in his own mind and engages in correct thought, thusly, thusly will [the mind-substance] arise. (The Avataṃsaka says: "Thusly, thusly meditating; thusly, thusly arising."[3])

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[3]This quotation has not been traced.

48.

Next is contemplation of the original idea of the Buddha's sermons in the sutras. The World-honored-one himself said[1]: As to my original intention, I appeared in the world only because of the one great causal event. The one great event is my desire to enable sentient-beings to open the Knowing-seeing of the Buddha, eventually entering into the Path of the Knowing-seeing of the Buddha. Therefore, everything I do is always for the sake of this one event. I merely show Buddha Knowing-seeing to all sentient-beings and make them awaken. (All quotation.) There is no second or third vehicle.[2] The Dharmas of all the Buddhas of the ten directions and the three times are like this. Even though the Buddhas have employed innumerable expedients and similes in order to speak many Dharmas to sentient-beings, every one of these Dharmas has been the one Buddha-vehicle. For this reason, when I first attained perfect awakening under the bodhi-tree,

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[1]From here to the end of the line "every one of these Dharmas has been the one Buddha-vehicle" is a paraphrase of the Saddharma-puṇḍarīka-sūtra, T 9, p. 7 a-b.

[2]The two vehicles are Mahayana and Hinayana. With the pratyeka-buddha-vehicle between the two, we have the three vehicles. Buddha-vehicle, bodhisattva-vehicle, and one-vehicle (because according to the Saddharma-puṇḍarīka this is really the only vehicle) are synonyms for Mahayana. Sravaka-vehicle is a synonym for Hinayana. See Section 3/n.3.

everywhere I saw all sentient-beings attaining perfect awakening and everywhere I saw all sentient beings in complete nirvana. (The Miao-yen p'in of the Avataṃsaka says: "The Buddha was in the bodhi-seat[3] in the state of Magadha[4] when he first attained perfect awakening. The ground [of the bodhi-seat] was hard, as if made of diamond. The bodhi-tree was tall and broad, inspiring in its majesty."[5] The Ch'u-hsien p'in says: "When the Tathagata attained perfect awakening, everywhere he saw sentient-beings. . . ."[6] This is word for word like the text [above].) Everywhere I saw that all sentient-beings, within the passions of covetousness, anger, and foolishness, possessed the wisdom of the Tathagata's body, eternally free of defilement, endowed with all attributes. (Taken from the Tathāgata-garbha-sūtra[7]). There is not one sentient-being who does not possess the wisdom of the Tathagata. But,

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[3]"Bodhi-seat" (bodhi-maṇḍa) refers to the spot under the bodhi-tree on which the Buddha sat when he became enlightened.

[4]Magadha was the name of a state in what is now south Bihar.

[5]Paraphrase of the Avataṃsaka-sūtra, T 10, p. 1b-c.

[6]Paraphrase of the Avataṃsaka-sūtra, T 10, p. 275a.

[7]T 16, p. 457b-c.

merely because of unreal thoughts and grasping, [sentient-beings] do not realize and attain it. I wish to teach them the noble path, which will make them eternally free of unreal thoughts. Within their own bodies they will come to see the broad, great wisdom of the Tathagata, no different from me. (Taken from the Ch'u-hsien p'in of the Avataṃsaka.[8] I have merely changed a character [i.e., changed tang to yü] in order to make the passage a bit smoother. Also, the Saddharma-puṇḍarīka says: "My original vow was to enable all sentient-beings to be no different from me. . . ."[9]) Thus, at the bodhi-seat, for the sake of these sentient-beings, I proclaimed (departing tone[10]) the great, broad dharma-dhātu. I announced the causation flower of the ten-thousand practices, with which to adorn the Original-nature and perfect the Buddha-fruit of ten-thousand attributes. Some sentient-beings, having planted good roots in past kalpas just as I have done, found me in the sea of kalpas. They were drawn toward me by the four articles of attraction[11] (Also taken from the Miao-yen p'in[12]).

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[8]T 10, pp. 272c-273a.

[9]T 9, p. 8b.

[10]Ch'eng is to be read in the fourth tone.

[11]See Section 25/n.22.

[12]The Avataṃsaka-sūtra, T 10, p. 5b.

When they first saw my body (the body of Vairocana in the [lion's] sport samadhi[13]) and heard my sermon (the above Avataṃsaka sermon), then they all believed, received, and entered into the wisdom of the Tathagata. When at the Jeta Grove[14] I entered the lion's sport samadhi, the great multitude all realized the dharma-dhātu, except those who had earlier practiced and studied Hinayana (The Buddha, at the Saddharma-puṇḍarīka assembly, said that in the past, at the Avataṃsaka assembly, five-hundred sravakas had acted as if they were deaf and blind.[15] They had neither seen the Buddha realm nor heard the Dharma of perfect fusion. ["Those who had earlier practiced and studied Hinayana" are] these [sravakas]. Next, he said: "I will now enable them to hear this sutra and enter into Buddha wisdom."[16] ["Those who had earlier practiced and studied Hinayana"] are those who, exactly forty years later in the Saddharma-puṇḍarīka assembly, all received a prediction.) and those who have sunk into the waters of covetousness and desire. (The

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[13]Having entered this samadhi, the Buddha keeps the heretics and followers of the two vehicles in awe, making his influence felt over them.

[14]This is the name of the grove at Śrāvastī where the Buddha often dwelt and preached.

[15]For the uncomprehending sravakas, see the Avataṃsaka-sūtra, T 10, p. 324a.

[16]This quotation has not been traced.

Ch'u-hsien p'in also says: "There are only two places where the wisdom of the Tathagata cannot create and extend benefit. These are [the followers of] the two vehicles who have fallen into the great, deep pit of the unconditioned and those sentient-beings who have destroyed their good roots and lack ability, who have sunk into the great sea of false views, covetousness, and desire. However, [the Buddha] never deserted even these."[17] Comment: Those who are spoken of in the Avataṃsaka as having studied Hinayana, nevertheless, in the Saddharma-puṇḍarīka assembly received a prediction. Even though they were not present at this [Saddharma-puṇḍarīka assembly, the Buddha] remembered them and gave them the prediction. This is what is meant by "[the Buddha] never deserted even these.") The abilities of such sentient-beings are dark and dull, attached to pleasure and blinded by ignorance; it is difficult for them to cross to liberation. For twenty-one days I meditated[18] on this state of affairs: If I simply praise the Buddha-vehicle to them, they will sink into suffering and be critical and unbelieving. For this they will speedily enter evil

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[17] Paraphrase of the Avataṃsaka-sūtra, T 10, p. 272a.

[18] The following is a paraphrase of the Saddharma-puṇḍarīka-sūtra, T 9, p. 9c.

destinies. If I teach the Hinayana even to one man, [I will be holding back the explicit teaching from them, and hence,] I will fall into being close-fisted and covetous. This is an impossible situation. It is impossible to either advance or retreat. Thinking on the power of the expedients practiced by past Buddhas, I remembered that all past Buddhas had used the Hinayana to entice [sentient-beings], and, only later enabled [sentient-beings] to enter the ultimate one-vehicle. Therefore, concerning the Path which I have now obtained, I also should speak of three vehicles. While I was meditating thusly, the Buddhas of the ten directions all appeared to console me with their noble voices: "Wonderful, Śākyamuni! You are the supreme teacher of the Path, having attained this unexcelled Dharma and following all the Buddhas in the use of the power of expedients." Having heard these consoling voices, in accordance with the intention of all the Buddhas, I therefore began my way to Vārāṇasī,[19] where I turned the Dharma-wheel of the four truths, saving five people, including Kauṇḍinya.[20] I step-by-step [went on to preach the four truths] at many places, up to the

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[19]Present-day Benares.

[20]He was the first who understood the Buddha's Dharma.

thousands (like a sheep cart[21]). Also, I spoke of the twelve-fold orgination by dependence[22] to those who sought to become pratyeka-buddhas (like a deer cart). I spoke of the six paramitas to those who sought the Mahayana. (Like an ox cart. All [three of] these above correspond to the first [teaching], the secret teaching which relies on the Nature and speaks of marks. These three carts above stand outside the gate pointing into the house. [The three carts] are

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[21] The cart similes derive from the Saddharma-puṇḍarīka-sūtra, T 9, p. 14b-c.

[22] The Ta chih-tu lun says of the twelve-fold origination by dependence: "All the depravities of past lives are called ignorance [1]. Due to ignorance, there arises karma. Because it makes the world as an effect, it is called samskaras [2]. Due to samskarasthere arises a defiled mind. In the beginning the cause of the body is like a calf's knowing its mother. It knows on its own and therefore it is called vijñana [3]. These vijñana collectively produce the formless four skandhas and the form they dwell in. This is called name-and-form [4]. Within this name-and-form there arise the six organs of sense -- eye, etc. These are called the six ingresses [5]. When the organ of sense, object, and consciousness come together -- this is called contact [6]. From contact there arises feeling [7]. Within feeling there is attachment on the part of the mind. This is called craving [8]. The seeking which is caused by craving is called grasping [9]. From grasping there is karma which is the cause of the next life. This is called becoming [10]. Due to becoming there is again the receiving of the five skandhas of the next life. This is called birth [11]. Due to birth the five skandhas mature-and-destruct. This is called aging-and-dying [12]. Aging-and-dying produces sadness, tears, and various anxieties. The mass of suffering comes together. If mind views that the real-mark of all dharmas is purity, then ignorance is extinguished. Because ignorance is extinguished, the samskaras are extinguished and so on until the mass of all suffering is extinguished." (T 25, p. 100b-c)

one by one like the three vehicles of the provisional teaching.) Meanwhile, I spoke of the exceedingly deep prajna-paramita. It rinsed clean the above sravakas, advancing them to the status of small bodhisattvas. (This corresponds to the second [teaching], the secret teaching which negates marks and reveals the Nature.) Step-by-step I saw their abilities ripen, and, subsequently, at Gṛddha-kūṭa,[23] I showed them the Knowing-seeing of the Tathagata and gave them all predictions of unexcelled perfect enlightenment. (This is the ultimate one-vehicle which is like a white-ox cart in the middle of a crossroads. As to the difference between the ox cart Mahayana of the provisional teaching and the white-ox cart one-vehicle of the real teaching, more than thirty sutras and sastras have illuminating passages.[24] I revealed the sameness of the dharmakaya of the three vehicles and entrance into the Path of the one-vehicle, until, as I was about to extinguish and cross over, midst the _śāla_ trees outside

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[23]The name of a mountain northeast of Rājagṛha. It is the setting of the _Saddharma-puṇḍarīka-sūtra_.

[24]Presumably, this refers to the sutras and sastras of the third teaching.

Kuśinagarī,[25] giving out a great lion's roar,[26] I revealed the eternally abiding Dharma and spoke explicitly: "All sentient-beings possess the Buddha-nature. Whatever has mind will certainly become Buddha. Nirvana is ultimately permanence, joy, self, and purity. All can dwell peacefully in the secret store." (The Saddharma-puṇḍarīka gathers in the three vehicles, until the Nirvāṇa-sūtra gathers in all [sentient-beings] in the six paths. This is because bringing the provisional into the real must be step-by-step.) These [i.e., the Saddharma-puṇḍarīka and Nirvāṇa-sūtra-s] are no different from the lion's sport [samadhi] in the Avataṃsaka assembly with the great multitude all-at-once realizing [the dharma-dhātu]. (The Saddharma-puṇḍarīka and the Nirvāṇa are the pinnacle of the step-by-step teaching, and, [as such,] are no different in depth from the all-at-once teaching of the Avataṃsaka and others. [All three] together are the third [teaching,] the teaching which openly reveals that the True-mind is the Nature.) Those whom I in the past said would cross over,[27]

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[25]The name of a town of the Mallas. It is the setting of the Nirvāṇa-sūtra.

[26]This and the following quotations are paraphrases of the Nirvāṇa-sūtra, T 12, p. 767a-b.

[27]Based on a passage in the Fo-i-chiao ching, T 12, p. 1110c.

have already crossed over. Those who have not yet obtained crossing over, have already created the conditions for obtaining crossing over. Therefore, between the *śāla* trees,[28] I entered the great samadhi of calmness-extinction and returned to the root, to the Source. Together with all the Buddhas of the ten directions and three times, the eternally abiding *dharma-dhātu*, forever calmed and forever luminous.

[28]The Buddha entered complete nirvana while lying on a bed made between two of these fruit trees (*shorea robusta*), just outside the city.

49.

Note: The above three sheets [i.e., the previous section] is based entirely on the Buddha's own words as recorded in the sutras. I merely jotted down the appropriate passages, and so I could not avoid adding or subtracting or changing two or three characters at the points where the passages connect [in order to achieve a smooth narrative]. (The one and a half lines which describe the place of the Avataṃsaka [sermon][1] are the only ones which reveal the Buddha's idea in terms of the sutra's theme and are not the original words of the Buddha.) I request [the reader] to take these passages which record the original idea of the Buddha himself to judge the previous three types of teachings and [Ch'an] realizations. How can anyone say that the provisional and real are one and the same? How can anyone say that the beginning and the end[2] are two [different] Dharmas? The

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[1]This refers to the lines beginning "Thus, at the bodhi-seat for the sake of these sentient-beings, I proclaimed. . . ."

[2]The Avataṃsaka-sūtra, which was preached at the very beginning of the Buddha's preaching career, and the Nirvaṇa-sutra, which was preached at the very end, embody the same Dharma -- both belong to the third teaching.

Ch'an realizations take the teachings as their precedents. Who [dares] say this is not so? My desire to bring [Ch'an and the teachings] together is truly grounded in this. Who has heard these words and still not rid himself of doubts? If [any reader] still clings to delusion, I cannot repeat myself.

50.

[In the Avataṃsaka-sūtra] quoted above the Buddha himself says: "I saw all sentient-beings attaining perfect awakening. . . .",[1] while [in the Saddharma-puṇḍarīka-sūtra] he says: "Their abilities are dull and they are blinded by ignorance. . . ."[2] I would like to explain the apparent contradiction between these two passages. I fear that, [if I attempt to explain this discrepancy with] further quotations from the Buddha word [i.e., the sutras], the texts will become intertwined. Thus, from here on I will begin to rely exclusively on the ancient patriarch Aśvaghoṣa bodhisattva.[3] Clarifying both the delusion and awakening of sentient-being mind and the root and the branches, the beginning and the end,[4] he made everything reveal itself. He spontaneously showed that sentient-beings who are identical to Buddha dwell miserably in samsara, that Buddhas who are identical to sentient-beings dwell calmly in nirvana, that vāsanā which is

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[1] Paraphrase of the Avataṃsaka-sūtra, T 10, p. 275a.

[2] Paraphrase of the Saddharma-puṇḍarīka-sūtra, T 9, p. 9c.

[3] Tsung-mi will "rely exclusively" on the Ta-ch'eng ch'i-hsin lun. This section draws heavily from that text, as do the following sections.

[4] "Beginning and end" refers to the sermons preached by the Buddha at the beginning and end of his preaching career.

identical to all-at-once awakening from moment to moment seizes objects, that all-at-once awakening which is identical to vāsanā from thought to thought shines awakened. Thus, we see that the contradictions in the Buddha word are not contradictions at all. In other words, the common-men of the six paths and the worthies and noble ones of the three vehicles are all rooted in luminous, pure, one dharma-dhātu mind, intrinsically awakened[5] and shining like a treasure, each perfect and full, never called either Buddhas or sentient-beings. Because this mind is luminous, true, self-existent, possessing no self-nature,[6] therefore following conditions of delusion and awakening, it creates karma, receives suffering, and is called "sentient-beings," and it cultivates the real, realizes the real and is called "Buddhas." Also, even though [this mind] follows conditions, it never loses its self-nature, never unreal, never changing, indestructible, merely this One-mind, and so we call it "tathata." Therefore, this One-mind possesses two gates, but no gap has ever existed [between these two gates]. Within

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[5]"Intrinsically awakened" (hsing-chüeh) corresponds to the original awakening (pen-chüeh) of the Ch'i-hsin lun.

[6]This is another way of saying that this mind is conditioned (sui-yüan). Ch'eng-kuan and Tsung-mi outlined ten differences between the Nature lineage and the marks lineage (See Section 33/n.2). The fourth difference is: While the marks lineage says tathata (=one dharma-dhātu mind) is "solidified," that is, not conditioned, the Nature lineage says that tathata's following conditions brings into existence the eight perceptions.

the "conditioned" gate, common-man and noble one are not really existent. In other words, because ab-aeterno there has been no-awakening, we say that the depravities are beginningless. If one practices and realizes, the depravities will be cut off, and so we say that [the depravities] have an end. However, in reality, there exists neither a separate initial-awakening [which cuts off the depravities], nor a no-awakening [during which the depravities hold sway]. They are, ultimately, the same. Therefore, this One-mind, by its very nature, has two principles, "real" and "unreal," while these two principles each have two further principles. Therefore it always possesses the two gates of tathata and emerging-submerging. As to the two further principles of each, the "real" has the two principles of "immutable" and "conditioned," while the "unreal" has the two principles of "empty of substance" and "becoming phenomena." This means that, because the real is immutable, the unreal is ab-aeterno empty of substance. This is the gate of tathata. Because the real is conditioned, unreal perception becomes phenomena. This is the gate of emerging-submerging. Because emerging-submerging is identical to tathata, the sutras employ such phrases as "neither Buddha nor sentient-beings," "ab-aeterno nirvana," "characterized by eternal calmness-extinction." Because tathata is identical to emerging-submerging, a sutra says: "The flow of the dharmakaya through the five

paths is called 'sentient-beings.'"[7]

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[7]Probably based on the Fo-shuo pu-tseng pu-chien ching (a translation of the Anūnatvāpūrnatva-nirdeśa done by Bodhiruci during the early sixth century), T 16, p. 467b.

51.

We know that delusion, the common-man, and awakening, the noble one, lie within the emerging-submerging gate. Within this gate, let me now clarify the two marks of common-man and noble one. The real and the unreal are fused; they are neither one nor different. [This relationship] is called ālaya-vijñāna. This perception, present in common-men, has ab-aeterno possessed two principles, awakening and no-awakening. Awakening is the root of the worthies and noble ones of the three vehicles, while no-awakening is the root of common-men in the six paths. I will now show that there are ten stages to the process of common-manhood. (I will provide [parts of a continuous] dream analogy beneath each stage so that they can be read together.) 1. All sentient-beings possess original-awakening, the True-mind. (A wealthy nobleman, endowed with both virtue and wisdom, is within his own house.) 2. Having not yet met good-friends who show the Path, inevitably ab-aeterno no-awakening. (The nobleman falls asleep in his own house and forgets who he is. The sastra says: "Grounded in original-awakening there is no-awakening."[1]) 3. Thoughts arise as a natural consequence of no-awakening. (Dreams arise as a natural consequence of sleep. The sastra says: "Grounded in no-

[1]The Ch'i-hsin lun, T 32, p. 576b.

awakening, three types of marks are produced."[2] This is the first one.) 4. Because thoughts have arisen, a subject comes into existence (the [subjective] thought in a dream). 5. Because a subject has come into existence, an organ-body and world falsely manifest themselves. (In his dream the nobleman sees himself in another place in [circumstances] of poverty and suffering, and he sees various likable and dislikable "real" objects.) 6. Unaware that this [organ-body and world] have arisen from one's own thoughts, one grasps them as real existents. This is called dharma-grasping. (While in the dream, [the nobleman] inevitably grasps the things which he sees in the dream as real things.) 7. Because one has grasped dharmas as really [existent], one [begins to] distinguish between self and others. This is called self-grasping. (While dreaming [the nobleman] inevitably believes that the person who is in another place in [circumstances of] poverty and suffering is his "own person.") 8. Because one clings to [the notion that] the four elements[3] constitute a self-body, inevitably

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[2]The _Ch'i-hsin lun_, T 32, p. 577a. The _Ch'i-hsin lun_ speaks of the three subtle and the six coarse forms of ignorance. The "three types of marks" refer to the former: 1. ignorance-and-karma (_wu-ming ye hsiang_); 2. subject or seer (_neng-chien hsiang_); and 3. objects (_ching-chieh hsiang_). These three correspond to the third, fourth, and fifth steps in Tsung-mi's process of delusion.

[3]Earth, water, fire, and air.

one [falls into] desiring and loving objects which accord with one's feelings, wanting to adorn oneself, while one [also falls into] hating and despising those objects which are contrary to one's feelings, fearing that they will harm and vex oneself. Ignorant feelings make all sorts of calculations and comparisons. (This is the three poisons.[4] In his dream [the nobleman] also desires agreeable events in the other place and hates disagreeable events.) 9. From this [i.e., the emergence of the three poisons] comes the creation of good and bad karma. (In his dream, [the nobleman] either steals and murders or practices kindness and spreads virtue.) 10. Once karma comes into existence, it is impossible to escape [its fruits]. [Retribution trails behind karma as surely] as the shadow behind the form or the echo behind the voice. Therefore, one then receives [some] form of karma-bondage suffering in the six paths. (If, in his dream, [the nobleman] steals and murders, then he is apprehended, put in a wooden collar, and sent to prison. On the other hand, if he practices kindness and obtains rewards, he is recommended for office and takes his position.) These ten stages rise step-by-step. It works very much like the

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[4]The three poisons are: covetousness, anger, and foolishness.

connections of blood relationship [i.e., a genealogical table]. If [the reader] will merely contemplate mind according to Principle and study it, the sequence can be seen.

52.

I will next explain the cultivation and realization which come after awakening.[1] This too has ten stages. Overturn the unreal and it is the real.[2] This is because they are not separate dharmas. However, the principles of delusion and awakening are separate. The flow and counter-flow sequences are different [i.e., the delusion stages flow in one direction, while the awakening stages flow in the opposite direction]. The former [i.e., delusion] is to be deluded about the real and pursue the unreal. It arises in sequence from the fine and subtle, revolving towards the coarse.[3] This [i.e., awakening] is to awaken to the unreal and return to the real. Proceeding from the coarse and heavy, in opposite sequence it cuts off [each successive stage of delusion], revolving towards the subtle. The knowledge necessary to overturn [each successive stage of delusion] proceeds from shallow to deep. The coarse obstructions are easily eliminated because shallow knowledge

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[1]"Realization" refers to realization-awakening (_cheng-wu_) and "awakening" refers to understanding-awakening (_chieh-wu_).

[2]Fa-tsang's _Ta-ch'eng ch'i-hsin lun i-chi pieh-chi_ (T 44, p. 292a) speaks of "overturning defilement to manifest one's own true virtue."

[3]See Section 20/n.3.

can overturn them. The subtle depravities are more difficult to get rid of, because only deep knowledge can cut them off. Therefore, these ten [i.e., the awakening sequence] begin at the end [of the delusion sequence] and work their way backward, overturning and destroying the former ten [along the way]. There is only a small discrepancy involving the first stage of awakening and the first two stages of delusion. Later I will show this [discrepancy]. The ten stages [of awakening] are: 1. A sentient-being meets a good-friend who shows him the original-awakening or True-mind spoken of above. He has heard [of this True-mind] in a past life, and, thus, in the present life, he is capable of awakening and understanding that (If he had not heard of it in a past life, upon hearing of it in the present, he would certainly be unbelieving or would believewithout understanding. Even though everyone has the Buddha-nature, some in the present life are unbelieving and some are unawakened. This refers to this type.) the four elements are non-self, that the five aggregates are all empty.[4] He [comes to] believe in the tathata of self and the virtues of the three jewels.[5] (Because he believes self-mind has never been unreal, has never changed, we say "tathata." Therefore, the sastra says:

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[4]This is a line from the Prajnā-pāramitā-hṛdaya, T 8, p. 848c.

[5]The three jewels are: the Buddha, the Dharma, and the Community of monks.

"When self believes in the Nature of self, one knows that mind-movement is unreal and that there are no external objects."[6] It also says: "The believing mind is of four types. The first is belief in the root, taking joy in thinking on tathata. The second is belief that the Buddha has immeasurable merit, always thinking upon, being near to, and making offerings. The third is belief that the Dharma has great benefit, always thinking on practicing [the paramitas]. The fourth is belief that the community can cultivate the correct practices which are of benefit to self and others, always taking joy in being near [the bodhisattvas]."[7] Awakening to the first stage of delusion [i.e., original-awakening or the True-mind] and overturning the second stage of delusion [i.e., no-awakening] constitutes the first stage.) 2. He raises compassion, knowledge, and the vow, resolving to realize bodhi. (To raise a mind of compassion is to desire to cross over sentient-beings. To raise a mind of knowledge is to desire to attain complete understanding. To raise a mind of the vow is to desire to cultivate the ten-thousand practices as a complement to compassion and knowledge.) 3. To the best of his ability he practices the gates of giving, morality, forebearance,

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[6]The Ch'i-hsin lun, T 32, p. 578b.

[7]Paraphrase of the Ch'i-hsin lun, T 32, p. 581c.

striving, and tranquillization-insight, which make the roots of belief grow. (The sastra says: "There are five practices which can perfect this belief."[8] Tranquillization and insight have been combined into one practice, thus reducing the six paramitas to only five.) 4. The great thought of enlightenment arises from here. (At this point, the three minds mentioned above open up. The sastra says: "The minds which are raised by the perfection of faith are of three types. The first is the straight mind which correctly thinks on the Dharma of tathata. The second is the deep mind which takes joy in cultivating all good practices. The third is the mind of great compassion which desires to lift all sentient-beings out of suffering."[9]) 5. He realizes that, in the dharma-nature [dharmatā], there is no stingy mind, etc. ("Etc." refers to desire, anger, lethargy, distraction, and ignorance.) 6. Flowing along, he practices the six paramitas. By the power of samadhi and prajna (Initial practice is called tranquillization-insight; completed, it is called samadhi-prajna.) self and dharmas are both done away with. (When one first raises the

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[8]Paraphrase of the Ch'i-hsin lun, T 32, p. 581c.

[9]Paraphrase of the Ch'i-hsin lun, T 32, p. 580c.

thought [of enlightenment], one has already, according to the Principle of the teaching, discerned that the two graspings [i.e., grāhaka and grāhya] are empty. Now, because of the power of samadhi and prajna, one discerns that self-awakening is empty.) There is neither self nor other. (Realization that self is empty [occurs in] the fifth stage.) Eternally empty, eternally like a mock show. (Realization that dharmas are empty [occurs in] the sixth stage. Form is not different from emptiness; emptiness is not different from form.[10] Therefore, "eternally empty, eternally like a mock show.") 7. Mastery over forms, everything fusion. (When deluded, one does not realize that [forms] evolve from self-mind, and, therefore, no mastery. Now, due to the knowledge of dual emptiness, one comprehends this, and, therefore, "fusion.") 8. Mastery over mind,[11] nothing not illumined. (Earlier, one has ceased to see objects existing separately outside mind. Objects are mind-only. Therefore, "mastery.") 9. Full of expedients,[12] for one moment in conjunction. Awakened to

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[10]This is a line from the <u>Prajna-pāramitā-hṛdaya</u>, T 8, p. 848c.

[11]This is one of the ten masteries [<u>vaśitā</u>] of the bodhisattva. See Har Dayal, <u>The Bodhisattva Doctrine in Buddhist Sanskrit Literature</u>, pp. 140-1. Mastery over forms does not appear in the lists.

[12]These four sentences are a paraphrase of the <u>Ch'i-hsin lun</u>, T 32, p. 576b.

the first rising of mind, mind has nothing which is characterized as "first," divorced from subtle thoughts. Mind is then eternally abiding, awakened to the origin of delusion. We call it ultimate awakening. (From first raising the thought [of enlightenment], one cultivates no-mindfulness. Arriving at this point, one attains perfection. Because of perfection, one enters the Buddha-position.) 10. The mind having no-mindfulness, there is no separate initial-awakening. [Mind] is ab-aeterno sameness, the same, one awakening, and so it is mysteriously in the basic, real, pure mind-source. Its responsive functions are limitless; it exhausts the limit of the future; [it is] the eternally abiding _dharma-dhātu_. Touch anywhere and you have penetrated it. We call it the Greatly-awakened-honored-one. No Buddha is different from another Buddha. They are [all] the Original-Buddha. [Buddhas] do not arise anew. Therefore, they "see everywhere all sentient-beings equally attaining perfect enlightenment." Therefore, delusion and awakening each have ten stages. Flow and counterflow overturn each other. How it works is very clear. The first stage of awakening corresponds to the first and second stages of delusion, while the tenth stage of awakening corresponds to the first stage of delusion. Of the remaining eight stages [of awakening, stages two through nine,] each successively overturns and annuls one of the eight stages

of delusion running from stage ten down to stage three. In the first stage, one awakens to the original-awakening of the first stage of delusion, overturning the no-awakening of the second stage of delusion. Previously, no-awakening perverted original-awakening, real and unreal contradicted each other, and so they were opened into two stages. Now, having awakened, they "mysteriously tally;"[13] "mysteriously tallying," they are in accord with one another and there is no separate initial-awakening, and so they are combined into one [stage]. If we were to adhere strictly to the sequence of flow and counterflow, the first stage of awakening would correspond to and overturn the tenth stage of delusion. But, within the gate of all-at-once awakening, by Principle one must directly recognize the basic Substance, overturning the original delusion of the delusion sequence, and so [the first stage of awakening] corresponds to stages one and two of delusion. (This is a discrepancy which I mentioned earlier.) In the second stage, fear of suffering in samsara leads one to raise the three minds in order to cross oneself over and cross others over. Therefore, it corresponds to the tenth stage of delusion, which is birth and death in one of the six paths. The third stage, the cultivation of the five practices, overturns the ninth stage of delusion, the creation of karma. In the fourth stage, the three minds

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[13]The phrase "mysteriously tally" (ming-fu) occurs at the beginning of Bodhidharma's Erh-ju ssu-hsing lun.

open up, overturning the eighth stage of delusion, the three poisons. (The mind of compassion overturns anger; the mind of knowledge overturns foolishness; and the mind of the vow overturns covetousness.) The fifth stage, realization that self is empty, overturns the seventh stage of delusion, self-grasping. The sixth stage, realization that dharmas are empty, overturns the sixth stage of delusion, dharma-grasping. The seventh stage, mastery [over] forms, overturns the fifth stage of delusion, objects. The eighth stage, mastery [over] mind, overturns the fourth stage of delusion, a subject. The ninth stage, liberation from thoughts, overturns the third stage of delusion, the emergence of thoughts. Therefore, in the tenth stage, becoming a Buddha, Buddha is not a separate substance; it is merely initial-awakening, overturning the second stage of delusion, no-awakening, and merging with the first stage of delusion, original-awakening. Initial-[awakening] and original-[awakening] are non-dual. They are merely manifestations of tathatā, called [respectively] dharmakaya and great awakening. Therefore, [stage ten, becoming a Buddha,] and initial-awakening [ch'u-wu] are not two substances. The discrepancy between the flow and counterflow sequences is right here. In stage one causes include the sea of effects. In stage ten effects penetrate to the source of causes.[14] The Nirvāṇa-sūtra says: "The

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[14]A similar passage can be found in Ch'eng-kuan's Yen-i ch'ao (fascicle 1).

two, raising the thought [of enlightenment] and the ultimate, are not separate."[15] The Avataṃsaka-sūtra says: "When one first raises the thought [of enlightenment], one attains unexcelled, perfect enlightenment."[16] [These sutras are speaking here] of precisely this idea.

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[15] The Nirvāṇa-sūtra, T 12, p. 838a.

[16] The Avataṃsaka-sūtra, T 10, p. 89a.

53.

Even though the flow and counterflow correspond to each other, before and after illuminate each other, and the principles of the Dharma are [thereby] made clear, I am still beset by the fear that my text will not be immediately intelligible, that the ideas will not be clear all-at-once, that the head and the tail will be cut off from each other, that [the reader] will not get an overall view. I will now provide a chart which sketches these [sequences]. I will make the common-manhood sequence and the realizations of the great store of sutras appear in the mind mirror all-at-once. At the top-center position of the chart are three characters: "Sentient-being mind." Reading downward from these three characters, [the chart] separates into two paths. Red indicates pure dharmas, while black indicates defiled dharmas. Investigate each successive item in detail. The symbol for red is ○ ; it is used to represent the ten-staged sequence of pure dharmas. The symbol for black is ● ; it is used to represent the ten-staged sequence of defiled dharmas. The headings are from the text of the basic sastra, while the comments under the headings are discussions of principles in the text of that sastra.[1]

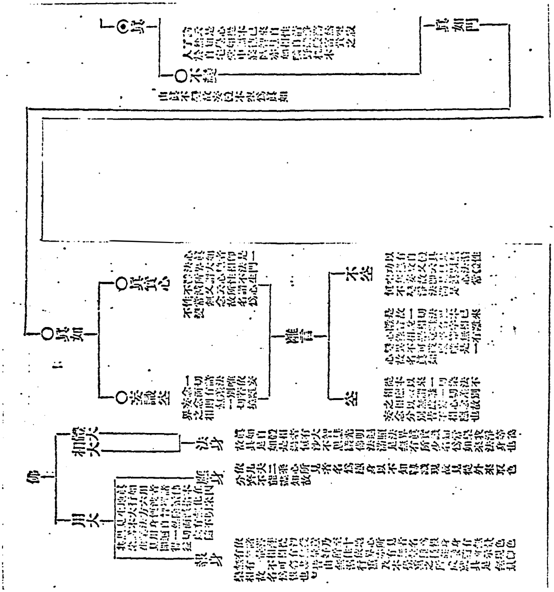
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[1] The translation is tentative. The chart is given in its original form. For the most part, it repeats *Ch'i-hsin lun* quotations contained in previous sections.

[illegible]

○一不覺	○二不覺	○三念起	○四見起	○五境現	●六執法	●七執我	●八煩惱	●九造業	●十受報
謂一切衆生皆有本覺眞心○如富貴人端正多智在自宅中住也	未遇善友開示法爾本來不覺○如宅中人睡自不知也 [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	由三毒故造善惡等業○如夢中或偷奪打罵或行恩布德也 [illegible]	[illegible]

[illegible]


佛
體大
相大
用大
法身
應身
報身
眞如
妄識空
眞實心
離言
空
不空
覺
不覺
眞如門

55.

Carefully examine the previous sections [dealing with the sequences of awakening and delusion] and truly contemplate this chart. Compare yourself to others and think of the noble ones and worthies. Are you the same as them or different? Are you in the unreal or the real? [Ask yourself:] "What gate am I in? What position is the Buddha in? Am I of a different substance [from Buddha]? Do [the Buddhas and myself] have a common source?" Then spontaneously forego attachment to common-manhood, do not pretend to the position of a noble one, do not sink into desiring views, do not be modest about the Buddha mind. Thus, the first ten stages [i.e., the stages of delusion] are: the dharmakaya, spoken of in all the sutras (the first stage); an explanation of how the disease of the depravities arises (the next three stages); a step-by-step increase [in the process] (dharma-grasping and self-grasping); until arrival at the coarse [forms of ignorance] (the three poisons and the creation of karma); and, the extinction of wisdom (retribution). The second ten stages [i.e., the stages of awakening] are: taking the medicine of belief in the dharmakaya (the first three stages); cure of the disease (the thought of enlightenment opens up); taking Principle to correct dharmas (the six paramitas); a step-by-step decrease [in the process] (stages six through nine); until arrival at full recovery (becoming a Buddha). [Let

me provide another] analogy. There is a man (the dharmakaya in bondage[1]) who has all his faculties ([The dharmakaya possesses] attributes as numberless as the grains of sand in the Ganges.) and is strong (Eternally abiding, immutable, the unreal cannot defile it.), possessing many talents (wonderful functions as numberless as the grains of sand in the Ganges). Suddenly, he contracts a disease (beginningless ignorance [avidyā]) which step-by-step increases (the next seven stages) until he expires (the tenth stage). Only his heart is warm (the seeds of without-outflows knowledge in the ālaya-vijñāna[2]). Suddenly, along comes a good doctor (the great good-friend), who knows that there is still life in him (sees that [even] in the common-man mind is Buddha). [The doctor] forces him to swallow some divine medicine. (When they first hear the Dharma, people are unbelieving, but after hearing it a few more times, they are not indifferent.) Suddenly, the man revives (understanding-

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[1]The "dharmakaya in bondage" is the tathagatagarbha. The Śrīmālā-sūtra says: "The Tathagata-dharmakaya not free from the store of depravities is called the tathagatagarbha."

[2]Whether such seeds existed innately or arose due to perfuming was one of the points over which Indian Yogacarins differed. Some held that all seeds (both with-and without-outflows) are innate and are merely enlarged by the power of vāsanā; some held that all seeds arise due to perfuming; and, some held that both with-outflows and without-outflows seeds are of two types: innate and newly-arisen. See the Ch'eng wei-shih lun, T 31, p. 8a-b.

awakening). At first, he cannot speak. (When people address questions about the Dharma to someone who has just awakened, his responses do not yet hit the mark.) Until step-by-step his voice returns (explaining and expounding the Dharma). Step-by-step he becomes capable of traveling (the ten stages and the ten paramitas[3]). He arrives directly at full recovery (becoming a Buddha). He can once again practice all his skills (the supernatural knowledges,[4] the rays of light, the knowledge of everything). Compare the Dharma one by one [with the continuous analogy]. How can there be any doubts which are not removed? Then you will know that the reason why sentient-beings are incapable of manifesting the supernatural knowledges is merely that they are afflicted by the disease of karma and depravities. It is not that they do not possess the true attributes in the dharmakaya.

Recently, an ignorant person objected: Once you have all-at-once awakened, you are Buddha. Why do you not give off light rays? [Answer:] How does this differ from ordering a sick man who is not yet fully recovered to resume his normal employment? Thus, the methodology of a worldly doctor is always first to feel the pulse. If he does not

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[3]See Section 8/n.2 and n.4.

[4]See Section 3/n.2.

ascertain the severity of the disease, how can he know which medical book is correct? If he does not gauge the depth of the cure [required], how can he talk about taking Principle and applying it to the specific case? Dharma doctors are also like this.

56.

Therefore, I have here described in detail the delusion sequence of ten stages and the awakening sequence of ten stages. I have taken the sutras and sastras to bring together the three types [of teachings, ranging from] shallow to deep. [With the canonical texts and the three-fold schema of teachings] facing each other, everything is illuminated. It is like laying the finger upon the palm.[1] Those who encourage students [should] themselves be good at pacifying mind. Practice is entrusted to the one gate of according [with varying abilities]. Understanding must be comprehension of no-obstruction. Further, one must not think about the biased and limited, for then [there will be] confusion with no [guide] to point the way back. Using a stream and its source as a clear mirror, knowing the difference between beans and wheat, one cannot but be made to see difference in identity and identity in difference. Though a thousand variegated images [may be reflected] in the mirror, do not grasp some as beautiful and others as ugly. Though the mirror is uniformly bright, do not shun [gazing

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[1]The Lun-yü says: "Someone asked for an explanation of the imperial sacrifice. The Master said: 'I do not know. He who knows the explanation could deal with all-under-Heaven as easily as laying this here.' He laid his finger upon his palm." (SPPY 11, 3, p. 3.R)

upon] the many-colored [images that it reflects]. Even though a thousand utensils [are made out of] one piece of gold without [really] a break between them, the thousand images [reflected on the surface of] one pearl have never been mixed up. The effort of the will and movement of the mind [necessary to engage in practice] is equal to the realm of space. The obstruction of the incorrect and investigation of thoughts lies within the smallest increment. When you see a color or hear a sound, you must think to yourself: "Is this not like a reflection or an echo?" With every bodily movement and every thought, you must consider: "Is this for sake of the Buddha-dharma or not?" Whether delicious food or coarse food [is served], you must think to yourself: "I have neither dislike nor desire [for this food], do I not?" Whether it is hot or cool or freezing or warm, you must think to yourself: "I forego both avoiding and seeking out, do I not?" Then reflect one by one on profit, weakness, slander, glory, praise, criticism, suffering, and joy.[2] In reality, have you gotten the idea or not? If, when you consider [whether your mind is affected by such things, you must admit that] you have not gotten the idea, then forms are

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[2]These are the "eight winds" (pa-feng).

not yet like shadows, and sounds are not yet like echoes. Suppose someone really all-at-once awakens, to the end he must step-by-step practice. Do not be like the poor man who, to the end of his days, counted the treasures of others, while he himself did not have a half-penny. The Great Teacher, the Sixth Patriarch [Hui-neng], said: "The Buddha spoke of 'all dharmas' in order to cross over 'all minds'; I have 'no mind at all,' so what need have I of 'all dharmas'?"[3] At the present time, people utilize such sayings to belittle scholarship. None of them ever contemplates himself [and asks:] "Do I really have 'no-mind'?" "No-mind" means that the eight winds cannot move [the mind]. Suppose vāsanā is not yet exhausted and a thought of anger happens to arise, at that time, have "no-mind" to strike or abuse others. Should a covetous thought happen to arise, have "no-mind" which prays for [the coveted object]. Should you see another prosper and become famous, have "no-mind" which envies him or seeks to outdo him. At all times in yourself, have "no-mind" which is sorrowful or hungry or cold, have "no-mind" which fears being despised by others. Those sorts of things can be called having "no-mind at all."

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[3]This quotation is not found in the Liu-tsu t'an-ching, but it is found (with slight variations) in the Ch'uan-hsin fa-yao (T 48, p. 381b) and the Wan-ling lu (T 48, p. 384b).

This is called cultivating the Way. If you have attained [to the point where] toward agreeable and disagreeable objects, you have no covetousness or anger or desire or hatred at all, this is called having attained the Way. Reflect on each of these. If you have a disease, then apply an antidote. If you have no disease, then you have no [need of any] medicine.

Question: Covetousness, anger, etc., are empty. If we call this fact "no mind at all," what is the need of applying an antidote? Answer: If you were now suddenly to contract a severe disease with pain and suffering, the fact that pain and suffering are empty would be called "no-disease" and what need would you have for the cure of a medicine? You must know that covetousness and anger are eternally empty, but they can produce karma.[4] Karma is also empty, but it can bring on suffering. Suffering is also empty -- it's just that[5] it is difficult to bear. This is the reason why, in the previous chart, [I divided "the unreal" into] "substance-empty" and "becoming phenomena." (For example, [at night] a tree-stump may seem like a ghost. [The "ghost"] is completely empty -- it's just that it can startle people, [causing them to] run and fall to the ground, cracking their foreheads.) If you hold: Karma is empty --

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[4]To deny cause and effect in emptiness is annihilationism (uccheda-vāda).

[5]Chih-mo is a T'ang colloquialism frequently occurring in Ch'an literature. See Yanagida Seizan, Rinzai roku, pp. 118-19. I have tried to suggest the tone of chih-mo through the conversational "it's just that."

it's just that in emptiness karma is produced, then, you must know that the pain of burning in hell is also empty -- it's just that in emptiness there is pain. If you say: "Bear the pain!" [I say:] "Suppose, this very minute, someone burnt you with fire and slit you with a knife. Why would you not be able to bear it?" When students these days hear even a word which contradicts their feelings, they cannot bear it. How much less could they bear burning or slitting. (Nine out of ten of them are like this.)

57.

Question: You have presented above [the schema of] the three types of teachings and the three realizations of Ch'an, the ten reasons why [Ch'an is connected to the sutras and sastras], the ten differences [between the emptiness lineage and the Nature lineage], the ten stages each of wheel-turning and cultivation-realization. Of both Principle and phenomena, there are none which you have not exhaustively [investigated]. In investigating and testing the taste, [the above presentation] is sufficient to enable one to cultivate mind. What need is there to go on and read the sutras of the [great] store and the Ch'an verses [which follow the Preface]?[1] Answer: The depravity diseases of sentient-beings are each different. [As these different sorts of depravities] are equal in number to the grains of sand in the Ganges, how could there be only eighty-thousand?[2] The expedients of all the noble ones have innumerable gates. The Nature and marks of the One-mind have innumerable principles. That which has been presented

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[1]This Preface explains the object and scope of what was to follow: the Collected Writings on the Source of Ch'an, a one-hundred fascicle compendium of the recorded sayings, verses, inscriptions, and other writings of the various Ch'an houses plus selected sutra and sastra passages. This anthology may never have been transcribed or it may have been lost during the Late T'ang/Five Dynasties.

[2]Any attempt to arbitrarily number them would fall short.

above is merely a summary [of these expedients and principles]. Even though, in bringing these things together, I have not gone beyond the things presented, if you use it, there will be a thousand changes and ten-thousand powers. [The teachings of] former wise ones and later eminent ones each have their strongpoints. Those of ancient noble ones and present-day worthies each have their benefits. This is the reason why I have collected the good points of all the [Ch'an] houses and recorded the followers of their lineages. There are [those teachings which made me] uneasy, but even these have not been changed. Only those [passages] where there was a hiatus in meaning, have I noted and perfected. Only those [passages] where the phrasing was cumbersome, have I noted and explained. Further, at the head of each house, I have noted the main idea and [supplied] a critique. The idea in raising the main rope of the net, [i.e., the Preface,] lies in spreading out the net [i.e., the Collected Writings = the Ch'an literature and the selected sutras and sastras passages]. You should not discard the net and save the main rope. (The Avataṃsaka says: "Spread the great teaching net, strain out the men and gods as if they were fish, and place them on the other shore of nirvana."[3] The idea in raising

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[3]Paraphrase of the Avataṃsaka-sūtra, T 10, p. 314c.

the shirt-collar lies in putting on the shirt. You should not throw down the shirt and keep the collar. If I had merely collected [the Ch'an literature and sutra and sastra passages] without this presentation [i.e., the Preface], it would have been like a net without a main rope. If I had merely made this presentation without the collection, it would have been like the main rope without the net. Ponder the whole [of this work], but do not trouble yourself if there should be difficulties. However, those who conquer self and perfect themselves independently,[4] do not need to examine everything. If one wishes to become a teacher of men, then he must directly comprehend the whole [of this work]. When scholars who love study open this and read it, they will certainly examine in detail each and every point one by one. [While reading, they will ask themselves:] "This is the principle of what [Ch'an] realization and what teaching?" If you use it without mistakes, everything [in this work] will become true medicine. If you use it in the wrong fashion, everything will become a return to the hateful. (The pronunciation [of the character "hateful"] is "wu.")

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[4]Refers to pratyeka-buddhas.

58.

However, it was not easy to decide in what order I should arrange [the following] collection. According to expedients for entering the Way, I should first open up the Original-mind; next, penetrate both Principle and phenomena; next, praise the surpassing truth of the Dharma and catigate worldly faults; next, encourage practice; and, finally, illustrate the step-by-step gate of corrective expedients. I wanted to arrange [the writings of the Ch'an houses] according to this [schema], but then I realized that the chao and mu, that is, the masters and disciples, would be topsy-turvy,[1] as a companion it would not be convenient. I refer to the fact that, after the sixth generation [i.e., Hui-neng], most [Ch'anists] told of the One-reality, while the Great Teacher Bodhidharma,

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[1]The Li-chi (Wang-chih section) says: "The Son of Heaven has seven temples; three chao, three mu and the temple of the founder [of the dynasty] make seven. The feudal princes have two chao, two mu, and the temple of the founder making five. The great officers have one chao, one mu, and the temple of the founder making three." The temple of the founder occupied the central position. Below his temple all the fathers are chao and the sons mu, with the former on the left and the latter on the right. Tsung-mi also refers to this system of ancestral temples in his Ch'an Chart: "Question: Since Ho-tse [Shen-hui] became the seventh patriarch, why was not an eighth, ninth, or tenth set up? . . . Answer: According to absolute truth, names and number have always been cut off. If even one does not exist, how can you speak of six or seven? Now, according to worldly truth, if you view the transmission from master to disciple within the context of worldly dharmas, then you have a table of transmission. A state sets up seven temples. Burial is in the seventh month . . . all stop at seven. If they go beyond this, then they are in multiples of seven, but they do not

on the contrary, taught the "four practices."[2] I could not put the grandsons [i.e., Ch'anists after Hui-neng] in the first section and the grandfather [i.e., Bodhidharma] in the last chapter. For several days, I meditated on this matter. I had wanted to place [the writings of those Ch'anists] outside the branches of the Bodhidharma lineage at the beginning [of the collection], but, as to the Ch'an which those houses taught and the Principles which they told of, there have been no sealed masters generation after generation; they are not the constant Way which penetrates everywhere. Some [of these Ch'an masters] proceeded from the merit [derived from] cultivation and refinement to realization, and took that to show people. (This type [is represented by] Guṇabhadra,[3] Hui-ch'ou,[4] and Wo-lun.[5]) Some

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stop at six, or go on to eight and nine. At present, the ceremonies which have been transmitted to us are popular and give rise to faith. What is there to doubt about them?" (ZZ 2, 15, 5, p. 434R)

[2]These are the four practices (ssu-hsing) discussed at the beginning of Bodhidharma's Erh-ju ssu-hsing lun: 1. the practice concerning repaying wrongs (pao-yüan hsing); 2. the practice which follows conditions or the conditioned practice (sui-yüan hsing); 3. the practice concerning nothing to be sought (wu-so-ch'iu hsing); and 4. the practice concerning being in accord with Dharma (ch'eng-fa hsing). See Section 1/n.3.

[3]See Section 12/n.10.

[4]See Section 12/n.10.

[5]Nothing is known about this Ch'an master. He is

of them relied on listening to and reading the teachings of the sutras to produce understanding and took that to embrace the multitude. (This type [is represented by] Ch'an master Hui-wen.[6]) Some of them corrected natures by sending down their traces,[7] for an hour [at a time] chastising the multitude for its delusions. (This type [is represented by] Chih Kung,[8] Fu Ta-shih,[9] and Wang Fan-chih.[10]) Some of them protected the Dharma by their high moral conduct, [serving as] model monks for the entire nation. (This type [is represented by] Yüan Kung of Mt.

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mentioned in a verse in the Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu (T 51, p. 245b). Also, the Tsung-ching lu (T 48, p. 942c) records one of his sayings.

[6]Hui-wen is considered the first patriarch of the T'ien-t'ai lineage. No biography is extant. Nan-yüeh Hui-ssu (515-76) practiced meditation under Hui-wen and attained the Lotus-samadhi. See Leon Hurvitz, Chih-I, pp. 86-99.

[7]The translation is tentative.

[8]Chih Kung was also called Pao-chih. His biography is in the Kao-seng chuan (T 50, pp. 394a-395b).

[9]Fu Ta-shih was also called Fu Hsi, Tung-yang Ta-shih, and Shan-hui Ta-shih. He was a practitioner of T'ien-t'ai meditation during the Liang (502-56).

[10]Wang Fan-chih was a poet who lived during the latter half of the eighth century. Some of his poems are collected among the Tun-huang materials (T no. 2863). See Iriya Yoshitaka, "Ō Bonshi shishū-kō," in Kanda hakushi kanreki kinen: Shoshi gaku ronshū (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1957), pp. 491-501.

Lu.[11]) As to the literary productions of these [non-Bodhidharma-lineage Ch'anists], some are odes to the Great Way, some are laments for the deluded common-man, some only explain principles, some only exhort practice. Some catch all the teachings, but, in the end, do not point south.[12] Some praise one gate in a biased manner and do not penetrate all phenomena. Although all of them are shadows and reflections of the Ch'an gate, huang-s in the Buddha-dharma sheng,[13] nevertheless, if one were to rely exclusively on them as the Dharma of Śākyamuni, it would not do. (The teaching of T'ien-t'ai [Chih-i] is broad and great.[14] Even though it constitutes a comprehensive treatment [of the Dharma], it is not contained

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[11]Hui-yüan (344-416) was a disciple of Tao-an (312-85). His biography is in the Kao-seng chuan (T 50, pp. 357c-361b).

[12]"Point south" means a guide to show directions.

[13]The sheng is a musical instrument consisting of a gourd with thirteen pipes in a row inserted into it and a spout protruding from one side. The longest pipes are the ones at each end; the shortest one is the one in the middle. The huang-s are the thin elastic tongues made of bamboo leaf or copper sheet within each of the pipes. The player fingers the holes of the tubes while blowing through the mouthpiece.

[14]This refers to Chih-i's Fa-hua hsüan-i (T no. 1716), Fa-hua wen-chu (T no. 1718), and Mo-ho chih-kuan (T no. 1911).

within this collection.) Only the Bodhidharma lineage transmits by mind. Mind is the dharma Source. What dharma is not included [in mind]? The Ch'an practice cultivated [by the Bodhidharma lineage] seems to be limited to one gate,[15] but the lineage which transmits mind actually penetrates [all of] the three instructions.[16] Examine once again its first [patriarchs]. (The first were Kāśyapa and Ānanda.[17]) They personally received [the teaching from] Śākyamuni and handed it down to the next generation. This went on generation after generation, the patriarch of each generation passing it on to his successor in a face-to-face encounter. After thirty-seven generations,[18] (It is said: The western countries have had twenty-eight patriarchs. They are enumerated in order in the preface to the biography of the sixth patriarch [Hui-neng].[19]) [the patriarchate]

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[15] One gate refers to the gate of tranquillization-insight among the five gates of practice enumerated in the Ch'i-hsin lun.

[16] The three instructions are: adhiśīla (rendered by chieh/"discipline"); adhicitta (rendered by ting/"concentration"); and, adhiprajña (rendered by hui/"wisdom").

[17] For Kāśyapa, see Section 11/n.1; for Ānanda, see Section 8/n.7.

[18] According to the Yüan-chüeh ching lüeh-shu ch'ao, ZZ 1, 15, 2, pp. 130L-131L, thirty-eight generations is the correct number -- twenty-eight Indian patriarchs, six patriarchs from Bodhidharma to Hui-neng, and four patriarchs from Shen-hui to Tao-yüan.

[19] Presumably, an independent biography of the sixth patriarch was in existence in Tsung-mi's time.

fell to me. (I sometimes think how fortunate I am to be the thirty-eighth generation descendant of Śākyamuni.) The order of the present collection [will be as follows]: First, I will record Bodhidharma's one realization; next, will come the miscellaneous writings of the various houses;[20] and, lastly, I will copy out the noble teachings which seal the realizations.[21] As to the noble teachings' being placed last, it is like a worldly legal document in which the clerk's decision is first and the honored official's decision is last. (Since I have copied only [those passages of the sutras and sastras] which strike the mark, they will total ten-plus fascicles.) Because, within the various lineages, I have taken the chronological sequence of honored and lowly, chao and mu, as my order [of presentation], all-at-once and step-by-step within those [lineages] will be mixed up. Principle and practice will

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[20]"The miscellaneous writings" probably consisted of the recorded sayings, verses, etc., of all the Ch'an houses which claimed descent from the fifth patriarch Hung-jen.

[21]The final part of the Collected Writings on the Source of Ch'an was to be selected sutra and sastra passages which "sealed," that is, provided legitimizing precedents for, the various Ch'an realizations. Presumably, these passages were merely more extensive quotations from the same sutras and sastras which Tsung-mi has quoted throughout the Ch'an Preface.

intermingle, and, working in tandem, will loosen bonds. Spontaneously, mind will be unfixed. (The Vimalakīrti says: "To covet the taste of dhyana is the bondage of the bodhisattva. To be born through [skill-in-] expedients[22] is the release of the bodhisattva."[23] Further, the Yogā-[cāra-bhūmi-śāstra] says that when compassion increases and wisdom increases, together they unloosen bonds.[24]) Having completed the Way of awakening and cultivation, understanding and practice are at this time perfectly penetrated. Next, as a bystander inspect all of the [Ch'an] houses [contained in the following collection] in order to broaden your knowledge. Lastly, hold up and read the noble teachings in order to seal the whole of it. Relying on this, how can it be that the true Dharma will not be long-abiding? Though in my ambition I have sought nothing, for my thought of protecting the Dharma, may divine Principle not bend me down; for my efforts in continuing the succession, may the former

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[22]The bodhisattva is free to choose in what state of existence he will be reborn as a skillful means to cross-over sentient-beings.

[23]The Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa, T 14, p. 545b.

[24]This reference has not been traced.

patriarchs not set me aside; for my kindness in giving the Dharma, may later students not be ungrateful to me. If [later students] are not ungrateful and [divine Principle] does not bend me down and [the former patriarchs] do not set me aside, then I resolve to hasten, together with those of the same conditions, to meet the assembly of all the Buddhas.

PREFACE TO THE COLLECTED WRITINGS ON THE SOURCE OF CH'AN

CHAPTER TWO ENDS

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